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HISTORY

OF THE

PARAMÂRA DYNASTY

BY

D. C. GANGULY, M. A., PH. D. (LOND.)
Assistant Professor of History,
Benares Hindu University.

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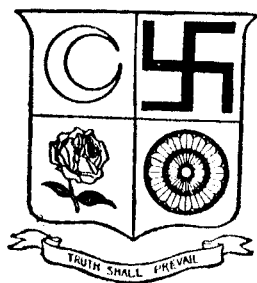
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To the sacred memory of my father

Mahim Chandra Ganguly.

INTRODUCTION.

After the downfall of the imperial power of the Guptas in the latter part of the 5th century A. D., Northern India was split up into a number of independent states. The Maitrakas of Valabhi rose to importance and ruled eastern Saurâṣṭra until the middle of the 8th century A. D.[1] A branch of the Câḷukya dynasty held sway over Gujarat for some time (A. D. 634-740).[2] Yaśodharman (532 A. D.), a military adventurer, established, for a short period, his authority in the eastern Rajputana. A branch of the Guptas asserted supremacy over Mâlava (C. 500—590 A. D.).[3] In the latter part of the 6th C. Mâlava was wrested from it by the Kaṭaccuries.[4] The Maukharies held sway over an extensive territory from Kanauj to Bengal.[5] In the early years of the 7th C. a military adventurer, named Śaśâṅka, wielded the sceptre of Bengal, and made his mark in high political achievement.[6] In Thanesar Prabhâkaravardhana acquired an independent status for his family.[7] Harṣavardhana, the younger son of Prabhâkaravardhana, ascended the throne in 606 A. D. After the death of Grahavarman at the hand of Kaṭaccuri Buddharâja (A. D. 602—609)[8] of Malwa, the Maukhari sovereignty

1 Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, pp. 78 ff.

2 Ibid., pp. 107 ff.

3 Fleet's Gupta Inscription, p. 146.

4 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 296.

5 Fleet's Gupta Inscription, pp. 219 ff. E. I, Vol. XIV, pp. 117, v. 13

6 Bâṅglâr Itihâs, by R. D. Banerji, Vol. I, pp. 99 ff.

7 The Life of Harṣa, by Dr. R. K. Mukherjee.

8 Cf. author's "Mâlava in the 6th and 7th C. A. D.", to be published in J. B. O. R. S.

in Kanauj became virtually extinct. Harṣavardhana transferred his capital to Kanauj, and tried to establish paramount sovereignty over Northern India. It has not yet been definitely established how far he was able to realise his ambition. When Hiuen Tsang visited India about 630 A. D. he found the country divided into a large number of independent states. Malwa was at that time under the rule of an unknown dynasty. The political supremacy of Harṣa's family came to an end with Harṣa's death in 646 A. D. After this the Guptas who were expelled from Malwa by the Kaṭaccuries revived their authority in Magadha under Âdityasena. They ruled there for about a century. [1]

In the early part of the 8th century A. D., the Pratihâras are found occupying the throne of Mâlava. Long before this one branch of these Pratihâras had established its authority in Jodhpur, in Rajputana. [2]

In the middle of the 8th century, Bengal witnessed the rise of a new and powerful dynasty in the Pâlas. [3] In the latter part of the same century and the beginning of the 9th, there was a long protracted war between the Pratihâras of Malwa and the Pâlas for supremacy over Kanauj, which was then ruled by Cakrâyudha. The Pratihâras had to confront another formidable enemy in the Râṣṭrakûṭas of the Deccan. In the early years of the 9th century they having been hard pressed by the Râṣṭrakûṭas, surrendered Malwa to their control, which was thereafter entrusted to the charge of Upendra, the founder of the Paramâra dynasty. They, however, were compensated for their loss of Malwa by their

1 J. A. S. B., 1920, p. 322.

2 Jour. Dep. Le. Vol. X, pp. 6 ff.

3 "The Pâlas of Bengal", by R. D. Banerji, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

success on the north. The Pâlas ultimately gave way, and the Pratihâra supremacy was established in Kanauj.

In the early part of the 10th C. A. D., the Pratihâras reconquered Malwa and established paramount sovereignty over the greater portion of Northern India. Their kingdom extended up to the foot of the Himalaya on the north, North Bengal on the east, the Narmada on the south, and Saurâṣṭra, Sind, and the Punjab on the west In the middle of the 10th century A. D., this vast empire collapsed, and was divided between a number of independent ruling dynasties. The Paramâras regained their sovereignty and firmly established themselves in Malwa. The Candellas[1] made themselves master of the territory around Bundelkhand. The Kalacuries[2] rose to importance in Jubbulpore. The Caulukyas[3] founded a kingdom in Gujarat. Northern and Southern Marwar were governed by the Câhamânas, and the Guhilas made themselves prominent in Mewar.[4] Later on, in the latter part of the 11th century A. D., Kanauj was conquered by the Gâhaḍavâlas,[5] and in the early years of the 12th century A. D., the Senas[6] wrested the sovereignty of Bengal from the Pâlas. The Paramâras, Caulukyas, Câhamânas, Guhilas, Kalacuries, Candellas, Gâhaḍavâlas and the Senas were the last great Hindu ruling dynasties of Northern India. They held sway over it with unquestioned supremacy till they were overthrown by the Moslems. The narrative of the rise and fall of these dynasties constitutes the history of Northern India

1 I. A., Vol. XXXVII, p. 114.
2 Cuuningham's Archæological Survey, Vol. X.
3 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 156.
4 History of Mediaeval India, Vol. II, by C. V. Vaidya.
5 Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. V, p. 86.
6 Bâṅglâr Itihâs, by R. D. Banerji.

at this period. Hence there is a supreme importance in the study of the History of the Paramâras.

In 1901 Captain Luard and Mr. Lele wrote a short paper on the Paramâras of Dhar in the Dhar District Gazetteer. It is not a comprehensive work on the subject, and since then much more material bearing upon Paramâra history has been discovered. In the following pages I have tried to make a comprehensive and critical study of the subject, with the help of all the available evidence. The book has been divided into ten chapters. The first one deals with the origin of the Paramâra dynasty. Chapters two to seven comprise the political history of the Paramâras of Malwa; the eighth chapter dwells upon the general condition and civilisation of Malwa during their suzerainty, whilst the ninth and tenth chapters deal respectively with the Paramâras of Abu, Vâgaḍa, Jalor and, Bhinmal.

The book was submitted as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of London in 1930. It was accepted as such on the recommendation of the Board of examiners, consisting of Dr. L. D. Barnett, M. A., D. LITT., Mr. J. Allan, M. A., and Mr. H. H. Dodwell, M. A. I am indebted to all those scholars for the valuable suggestions they offered for the improvement of the book. I desire also to record my deep gratitude to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M. A., PH. D., for the help he rendered me while the work was in progress. I was initiated into research in Indology by Dr. Majumdar, and what I learnt from him, has always served to lead me on in the path that I have chosen for myself. My thanks are due to Mrs. Indu Bala Ganguly, B. A., for reading the proof, and to Miss Anjali Banerje, for doing the index.

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HISTORY OF THE PARAMÂRA DYNASTY

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE PARAMÂRAS.

It was popularly believed that the founder of the Paramâra Family took his birth from a fire-pit on Mount Abu. The great poet Padmagupta was a contemporary of both the kings, Vâkpati-Muñja (A. D. 972-995) and his successor Sindhurâja. In his Nava-sâhasâṇka-carita, it is narrated that [1] Mount Abu (Arbuda) was a place of great sanctity where Vasiṣṭha, the first of the judges of Atharvana-Song and the house-priest of Ikṣvâku, had his residence. He had a 'wish-granting cow' which was once stolen and carried off by the son of Gâdhi (*i. e.* Viśvâmitra). This made him greatly indignant, whereupon he threw an offering into the fire with some holy sayings. At once a hero sprang out of the fire, with bow and crown and golden armour. He forcibly wrested the cow from Viśvâmitra and restored it to Vasiṣṭha. The grateful owner became highly pleased, and having given him the name of Paramâra, which means 'Slayer of the Enemy', made him supreme ruler of the earth. From this hero a family originated which was held in high esteem by virtuous kings. In course of time there was born a king named Upendra, who was a member of this family.

Bardic tales of Rajputana [2] relate that while the Sages were passing their days in deep meditation and

1 Sarga XI. vv. 64-76.

2 Tod's Annals of Râjasthân, ed. by Crooke, Vol. I, p. 113; A.S.S. I. (Cunn.), Vol. II, p. 255.

acts of devotion, the "daityas" (demons), who were always bent on mischief, became furious at those pious practices. The Brahmans dug pits for burnt sacrifices; but the demons obstructed them by throwing ordure, blood, bones and flesh into them. On this the priests, gathering round the fire-pit, prayed to Mahâdeva for help The great god took pity on them. A being arose; but as he was destitute of martial qualities, the Brahmans placed him as a guardian of the gate, for which he was named Pṛthvîdhara, which ultimately was contracted to Parihâra and Pratihâra. A second being issued from the palm of Brahmâ's hand, and was named Caulukya. A third came forth, and was named Paramâra, 'Slayer of the Enemy', who with the assistance of the other two, gave battle to the demons, but failed to vanquish them. Then, following Vasiṣṭha's prayer for further help, another mighty figure, with deadly weapons in his hands, sprang forth from the fire. He, being "Caturaṅga" (four-armed), was given the name Cauhân. Through his military skill and personal bravery the demons were defeated and killed.

Another bard narrates that [1] once Indra made an image of dûrvâ grass (*panicum dactylon*), sprinkled over it the water of life, and threw it into the fire-pit. Next the '*Sajīvana-mantra*' (life-giving spell) was repeated, whereupon a mace-bearing figure sprang from the flames, shouting "Mar, Mar!" ('Slay!'). He was given the name Paramâra ('Slayer of the Enemy'), and received Abu, Dhar, and Ujjain as his heritage.

According to Mûkjî, [2] the bard of the Khici-cohân, "The Solâṅki, who was given the appellation of Caluk -Rao, owed his origin to the essence of Brahmâ. The

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, p. 485.
2 A. S. I. (Cunn), Vol. II, p. 255.

Pwâr (*i. e.* Paramâra) originated from the essence of Śiva, and so the Pariyâr from the Devî's (Goddess') essence. The chosen race, the Cauhân, issued forth from the fount of fire and wandered forth, leaving Abu for Abhârh."

While a particular bard denies the fire-origin of the Paramâras, others maintain that not only the Cauhâns but the Paramâras, Parihâras, and Caulukyas as well were members of the fire-race. But none of the dynastic inscriptions of any of these families except those of the Paramâras speaks of their fire-origin. The earliest known record of the Câhamânas is that of its Dholpur branch in Eastern Rajputana, which is dated A. D. 842.[1] The Harṣa stone inscription of Vigraharâja, dated 973 A. D., is the earliest known dated inscription[2] of the main Câhamâna line. The Dholpur inscription simply states that the dynasty belongs to "the goodly race of the eminent lord of the earth, Câhavâna," and the Harṣa stone inscription too speaks of the dynasty without any reference to the fabulous stories related by the bards. The Vadnagar praśasti[3] of the Caulukya Kumârapâla, dated 1151 A. D., states that Caulukya, the founder of the dynasty, was created out of water of the Ganges in the hollowed palms (culuka) of Brahmâ. Similarly the Parihâras or Pratihâras[4] are found to trace their descent from the epic hero Lakṣmaṇa.

In the Â' în-i-Akbarî[5] the author acknowledges the fire-origin of the Paramâras, though he tells a quite different story in that connection. It is said that about

1 E. I., Vol. V, App. No. 12.

2 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 116.

3 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 296.

4 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 110.

5 Translated and annotated by Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.

two thousand three hundred and fifty years before the fortieth year of the divine era (*i. e.* B. C. 761), an ascetic named "Mahâbâh" burnt the first flame in a fire-temple and devoted himself to performing religious rites. People who desired to attain eternal salvation sacrificed their offerings in that temple of fire and were greatly attracted to that form of worship. This alarmed the Buddhists. They approached the temporal lord and succeeded in inducing Him to put a stop to that form of worship. The people now became very much mortified, and prayed to God for a hero who would be able to help them and would redress their grievances. The Supreme Justice created from this fire-temple a human figure equipped with all the qualities of a soldier. This brave warrior within a short time succeeded by the might of his arm in removing all obstacles that stood in the way of the peaceful performance of fire-worship. He assumed the name Dhanji, and, transferring his seat from the Deccan, established himself on the throne of Malwah. Putrâj was the fifth descendant of this line. But as he died without leaving any issue, Âditya -Ponwâr was elected by the nobles as his successor. He was followed by a line of kings who were called the "Paramâras."

We may now consider what the inscriptions of the Paramâras state regarding the subject in question. The Udayapur praśasti [1] of the reign of Udayâditya (about 1072 A. D.) is the earliest known inscription of the main family of Dhârâ to register the mythical birth of the founder of the house. It states that 'there is in the West a son of the Himâlaya, that lofty mountain, called Arbuda (Abu), that gives the desired reward to those possessing (true) knowledge, and (is) the place where the

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 236.

conjugal union of the Siddhas is perfect. There, Viśvâmitra forcibly took from Vasiṣṭha (his) cow. Through his (Vasiṣṭha's) power, a hero arose from the fire-pit, who worked the destruction of the enemy's army. When he had slain the enemies, he brought back the cow ; then that sage spoke : "Thou wilt become a lord (of kings) called 'Paramâra'." The other inscriptions, which in general narrate the same story, are :—

i. The Nagpur stone inscription ; [1]

ii. The Vasantgadh inscription of Pûrṇapâla, dated 1042 A. D. ; [2]

iii. The Mount Abu inscriptions, Nos. I and II ;

iv. An unpublished inscription in the Acaleśvara temple at Abu ; [4]

v. The Pâṭanârâyaṇa inscription ; [5]

vi. The Arthuna inscription of the Paramâra Câmuṇḍarâja ; [6]

vii. The Mount Abu inscription. [7]

The account of these inscriptions agrees fully or partly with that given by the Nava-sâhasânka-carita. Needless to say, none of them helps us greatly in solving our problem. The only thing which can reasonably be gleaned from them is that 'Paramâra' was not the name of a race but of a family, which was first raised to high eminence by a hero after whom the family was called. The inscriptions clearly state that the family was known as the 'Paramâravaṃśa' because it took its descent from 'Paramâra.' The case was similar to that of many other

1 E. I., Vol. II, p. 180.
2 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 11.
3 Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 200.
4 I. A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193, foot note 2.
5 Ibid., Vol. XLV, p. 77.
6 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 295.
7 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 148.

ruling dynasties of ancient India. Mahârâja Gupta was the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha, and the family evidently derived its name from him.[1] The Pratihâras were a branch of the Gurjara race. They described themselves on rare occasions as Gurjaras,[2] and always preferred to be known as Pratihâras. Lakṣmaṇa, the hero of Hindu mythology, who bore the title of Pratihâra, is believed to have been the founder of this family.[3]

As this was the case, it is small wonder that the name "Paramâra" is not found in early Indian literatures as denoting a race, caste, or any of its subdivisions.[4]

1 Gupta coins, Mr. Allan, Introduction, xiv.

2 E. I., Vol. III, p. 266

3 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 110.

4 Almost all Indian historians are of the opinion that the 'Paramâras' were not original settlers in India. They say that the Paramâras came to India in the 5th or 6th century A. D., with the nomadic Hûṇa tribes which brought about the destruction of the mighty Gupta Empire. Mr. Watson, (I. A., Vol IV, p. 147.) following a Gujarati tradition, states that the Câvaḍa Vanarâja was called a Paramâra, and speaks about a genealogy (Vaṃśâvalî) in which Vanarâja's family is described as having taken its descent from Vikramâditya of the Paramâra tribe. (Ibid., p. 148.) Câvaḍas, Câpas, Câpotkaṭas are synonymous terms. The fact that the Câvaḍas were Gurjaras is known from the astronomer Brahmagupta. He says that he prepared his work at Bhinmal in A. D. 628, under the Gurjara Vyâghramukha, who belonged to the Câpa dynasty. (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 138, footnote 1.) Mr. Forbes points out that Jayaśekhara, the Câvaḍa ruler of Pañcasâr, was called a Gurjar lord (Râs Mâlâ, Vol. I, p. 34.). From all this it follows that the Paramâras, who were Câvaḍas, were members of the Gurjara race. Mr. J. Campbell adds two other points in support of this theory of the Gurjara origin of the Paramâras. (Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, p. 485.) He states that the Gurjara Osvâls are Paramâras, and Râjâ Hûṇa who rendered help to the king of Chitor against

An inscription, dated V. S. 1005=948 A D., of the reign of the Paramâra Sîyaka II, has recently been discovered in the village of Harasola in the Prantej Taluq of the Ahmedabad District of Gujarat. It is the earliest known record of the dynasty, and runs as follows :—

"Parama--bhaṭṭâraka--mahârâjâdhirâja--parameśvara -śrîmad-Amoghavarṣa-deva-pâdânudhyâta-parama-bhaṭṭâ-raka--mahârâjâdhirâja--parameśvara--śrîmad--Akâlavarṣa -deva-pṛthvîvallabha-śrîvallabha-narendra-pâdânâṃ ।

the Arabs, is said to have been a Paramâra. Dr. Bhandarkar also supports Mr. Campbell, and draws our attention to the fact that, (J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, pp. 428-29 ; Ibbetson, Census of the Punjab, p. 268.) "the Firojpur Gurjaras of the Punjab have a tradition that they came from Dârnagar in the South. As Dhârâ was from the beginning the seat of the Paramâras," argues the learned scholar, "it is very likely that the Firojpur Gurjaras were a collateral branch of the former." As all of the four tribes, *viz.*, the Câhamânas, the Caulukyas, the Paramâras, and the Parihâras claim descent from the Agnikuṇḍa (Fire-pit), it may be assumed that they belonged to one and the same race. The Parihâras were undoubtedly Gurjaras. (Rajore Stone inscription, E. I., Vol. III, p. 266.) This settles also the origin of the other three members of the 'Agni kula'.

Another eminent scholar who upholds the above view is Dr. A. F. R. Hornle. He describes (J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 31.) the Pratihâras, the Paramâras, the Cohâns, the Candels, the Kachhwahâs, etc., as constituent elements of the Gurjara race.

Now all these arguments advanced by the learned scholars are open to discussion. Tradition is their main source of evidence. No authentic material has yet been discovered to prove a Gurjara origin of the Paramâras. Even Mr. Watson remarks that (I. A., Vol. IV, p. 148.) "Although the above traditions etc. are not sufficient grounds to assert positively that the Câvaḍas are a branch of the Paramâras, yet they seem to convey the possibility of this being the case." Much may be said against Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion. The inscriptions of the

Tasmin kule kalmaṣa-moṣa-dakṣe I jâtaḥ pratâpâgni-hutâri-pakṣaḥ V(B)appaiyarâjeti nṛpaḥ prasiddhas tasmât suto bhûd anu Vairisiṃha I Dṛpt-âri-vanitâ-vaktra-caṃdra-V(b)imv(b)a-kalaṃkatâ no dhautâ yasya kîrty âpi-Hara-hâs-âvadâtayâ II Durvvâra-ripu-bhûpâla-raṇa-raṃgaika-nâyakaḥ I nṛpaḥ śri-Sîyakas tasmât kula-kalpa-drumo bhavat II [1]

It may be summarised as follows, in English :—

"Parama-bhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Parameśvara Akâlavarṣa-deva Pṛthvîvallabha meditated upon the feet of Parama-bhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Parameśvara Amoghavarṣa-deva In the renowned family of that sovereign was born the king Vappaiyarâja, who was efficient in eradicating crime and who burnt his enemy by the flame of his power. His son and successor was the famous Vairisiṃha, who was followed by Sîyaka, a brave warrior invincible to his enemies in battle.

Câhamânas, the Caulukyas, and the Parihâras do not assert anything about their fire-origin. On the contrary, they tell us quite different tales in that connection. The grouping of these three races under 'Agnikula' is nothing but a figment of imagination of the bards of the later ages. Again, it does not seem to be quite proper to infer that the Paramâras were Gurjaras because there is a tradition that the Firozpur Gurjaras once lived in Dârnagar.

Dr. Lassen thinks (Ind -Alterthumsk, III, p. 822.) that the Paramâras are the Porvarai mentioned by Ptolemy, and remarks that "Their name in this form comes nearer to the old Paramâra than to that of the present time Purwar or Powar, of which we get the second in Powargarh, *i. e.*, Powargaḍh, fort of Powar, the name of Campanir, the old capital of the district in North Gujarat." Mr. Burgess (I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 166 (footnote).) rightly objects to this assertion put forward by Dr. Lassen, pointing out that *Porvarai* of Ptolemy means a people, while the Paramâras were only a Kṣatriya family, from which no name of a district is yet known to owe its origin.

1 E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 237.

Akâlavarṣa, the son of Amoghavarṣa, in whose family Bappaiyarâja was born, is evidently the Râṣṭrakûṭa Akâlavarṣa Kṛṣṇa III, king of Mânyakheṭa. The known dates of his reign range from A. D. 940 to 951.[1] He was a contemporary of the Paramâra Sîyaka II, and was, in all probability, his suzerain lord. Vappai is a prakrit form of Vâkpati.[2] In the Gauḍavaho Kâvya its author Vâkpati is described as Vappai. Vappai referred to in the Harsola grant is undoubtedly the same as Vâkpatirâja I, the father of Vairisiṃha II. Hence it is evident from the above grant that the Paramâras were members of the Râṣṭrakûṭa race. The Râṣṭrakûṭa origin of the Paramâras is further proved by the fact that Vâkpati-Muñja, the son of Sîyaka II, assumed the Râṣṭrakûṭa titles of Amoghavarṣa, Śrîvallabha, and Pṛthvîvallabha.[3] No other inscription of this dynasty has yet been found to throw any light in that direction. The records of the Pratihâras present an analogous case. None of them except one contains any reference to the Gurjara origin of the Pratihâras.[4]

The original home of the Paramâras must have been in the Deccan, which once formed the home dominion of the Imperial Râṣṭrakûṭas. It is also stated in the Â'în-i-Akbarî[5] that Dhanji, the founder of the Paramâra family, transferring his seat from the Deccan,[6] established himself in the sovereignty of Mâlava.

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 421.

2 Kâvya-prakâśa, ed. Maheschandra Nyayaratna, 1886, p. 119.

3 ......Amoghavarṣa-deva parâbhidhâna-śrîmad-Vâkpati-deva -pṛthvîvallabha-śrîvallabha-narendra-devaḥ kuśalo |

4 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 51 ; Vol. XIV, p. 160.

5 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.

6 The question may reasonably be asked why the Paramâras in their later records made no mention of their Râṣṭrakûṭa

I shall now endeavour to trace the course of events which led the Paramâra family to depart from its ancient home and to establish numerous settlements in the north of the Narmada.

It is an established fact that the main branch of the family ruled in Mâlava or Avanti. This country, prior to the establishment of the Paramâras, was ruled by a Pratihâra branch of the Gurjara race, whose royal residence was fixed at Ujjain.[1] The kingdom of this Pratihâra family seems to have extended up to the Narmada, nearly seventy miles south of Ujjain,

origin. In the Epigraphic records of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries A. D. (E. I., Vol. X, P. 17; Vol. IX, P. 248.), a number of petty ruling families are found to describe themselves as members of the Râṣṭrakûṭa race. The cause of the omission of the Paramâras to do so is not very far to seek. Padmagupta's Nava-sâhasâṅka-carita, written between the years 996-1000 A. D., is the earliest known record to describe the family as "Paramâra", and to mention the mythical birth of its founder At the time of writing six royal grants have been discovered which were issued by the earlier Paramâra kings. In none of them is the family to which those kings belonged entitled "Paramâra." On the contrary, some of them are found claiming relations with the Râṣṭrakûṭa race. In that age, as has been noticed above, it was a general custom among the imperial ruling dynasties to trace their origin from some mythical heroes and to name their families after them. The records of the Pratihâras present very decisive evidence to that effect. They were evidently Gurjaras (E. I., Vol. III, p. 266.) by race; but they persistently designated themselves as Pratihâras because they believed that the epic hero Lakṣmaṇa-Pratihâra was the founder of their family. The Paramâras did not make themselves an exception to this general rule. After their attainment of the imperial power they too seem to have put forward similar pretensions.

1 J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 23 footnote.

beyond which lay the dominion of the Râṣṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa.[1] Nâgabhaṭa I, the founder of this dynasty, began his career of administration about 725 A. D.[2] The Râṣṭrakûṭas of the Deccan were a constant source of trouble to the government of these Pratihâras. Dantidurga, the founder of the Râṣṭrakûṭa kingdom, is reported to have made the Gurjara lords among others doorkeepers (Pratihâra) when the great "Hiraṇya-garbha" was performed in Ujjain by the Kṣatriyas.[3] Nâgabhaṭa I was followed by Kakkuka, Devarâja, and Vatsarâja. As regards the last mentioned king, we learn from a passage of the Jaina Harivaṃśa[4] that he was ruling in Avanti in Śaka (expired) 705=783-84 A. D. Vatsarâja was succeeded by Nâgabhaṭa II, during whose reign[5] the hostility between the Pratihâras and the Râṣṭrakûṭas reached its culminating point, in consequence of which Mâlava was lost to the Pratihâras. In the early years of the 9th century A. D., Govinda III (794-814, A. D.) was on the throne of the Râṣṭrakûṭa kingdom. In regard to one of his military exploits, verse 16 of the Râdhanpur plates,[6] dated Śaka 730 (expired)=808 A. D., informs us that "Seeing that the sole way to preserve his fortune was to bow down at his (Govinda III's)

1 Malkhed, in the Nizam's Dominions.

2 J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 26.

3 E. I., Vol. XVIII, pp. 238-39.

4 I. A., Vol. XV, p. 141; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 197, foot note 2; J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 23 ff.

5 Nâgabhaṭa's inscription is dated 815 A. D. (J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 36) He died in V. S. 890=833 A. D. (E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 179, footnote 3). As the only known date of his predecessor, Vatsarâja, is 783 A. D., he must have ruled between this date and 833 A. D.

6 E. I., Vol. VI, pp. 238-39.

feet, the lord of Mâlava, versed in policy, bowed to him from afar with folded hands."[1]

The Mâlava king referred to above is to be identified with Nâgabhata II, who, as we have just seen, mounted

1 (a) It is known from the Sanjan copper plate of Amoghavarsa I, (E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 253), that Govinda III conquered Mâlava, having followed the course of the Narmada. The Baroda plate of Karkarâja, dated 812 A. D. (I. A., Vol. XII, p. 160), lays down that Govinda III made Karkarâja, who was the rulers of Central and Southern Gujarat, a 'door-bar' of the Gurjaras for the protection of the king of Mâlava. It will be shown below that these Gurjaras were none other than the Pratihâras of Jodhpur. A close consideration of the above two records establishes the fact that 'Mâlava', as mentioned in the Râstrakûta records, denotes Eastern Mâlava or Avanti.

(b) Verse 15 of the Radhanpur plates records that "the Gurjara, in fear (of Govinda III), vanished nobody knew whither so that even in a dream, he might not see battle." The Sanjan copper plate of Amoghavarsa I tells us that Govinda III was a "destruction to the valour of the head of the thundering Gurjaras" (V 32). This inscription again reports that the fame of Nâgabhata was carried away by the same Râstrakûta chief (v. 22). Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that the Gurjaras, referred to above, were none other than Nâgabhata and his family (J Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 44). But a comparison of the above two verses of the Sanjan plate will show that Nâgabhata is carefully distinguished from the Gurjaras. The Nilgund inscription, dated 866 A.D. (E.I., Vol. VI, p. 106, v. 5), finally settles the matter by stating that the Gurjaras, whom Govinda III vanquished, dwelt in the hill fort of Citrakûta, which is to be identified with the modern Chitorgadh, in Udaipur state, Rajputana (cf. Chitorgadh ins. of the Caulukya Kumârapâla, E. I., Vol. II, p. 421). The Pratihâras of Jodhpur, who, in the early years of the 9th century A. D., regained power and prestige under Kakka, held sway over this part of the country (J. Dep. L., Vol. X, pp. 48-49). Hence there can hardly be any doubt that the Gurjaras alluded to in the Râdhanpur and Sanjan plates were this branch of the Pratihâras.

the throne of Avanti after the close of the reign of Vatsarâja. Regarding Nâgabhaṭa's defeat by the same Râṣṭrakûṭa chief, we further learn from verse 22 of the Sanjan plate of Amoghavarṣa that[1] "Carrying away in battles the fair and unshakable fame of kings Nâgabhaṭa and Candragupta, he (Govinda III), intent upon the acquisition of fame, uprooted, like 'sali' corn, other kings in their own dominions, who had become destitute of all fortitude, and afterwards reinstated them in their own places."

From the comparison of the above two verses of the Radhanpur and Sanjan plates, it appears that, though Govinda III carried away the glory of Nâgabhaṭa by extorting his submission, he allowed the latter to rule his territory for a certain period. It is known[2] that the same Râṣṭrakûṭa monarch launched a campaign against the northern countries and in his triumphant march advanced to the Himâlaya, whereupon, Dharmapâla, king of Bengal, and his vassal, Cakrâyudha of Kanauj, surrendered themselves to his mercy. This glorious achievement must have followed his victory over the king of Mâlava, whose kingdom evidently bordered the northern boundary of the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire. But immediately on his return from the northern expedition he is found to have changed his policy regarding Mâlava and some other neighbouring provinces in the south. Verse 24 of the Sanjan plates records that[3] "Govinda III returned from there (*i. e.* from his northern expedition) (thinking) that it was the work of the ministerial servants, and following again the bank of the Narmada as if (following his own) prowess, and acquiring the Mâlava country

1 E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 253.
2 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 23.
3 E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 253.

along with Kosala, Kaliṅga, Vaṃga (Veṃgi), Ḍâhala, and Oḍraka, that Vikrama *himself made his servants enjoy them*."[1]

It is quite evident from the above verse that this time Govinda III finally expelled Nâgabhaṭa from his ancestral dominions and entrusted the charge of the administration of Mâlava to one of his vassals. No doubt can be entertained that Mâlava was, on this occasion, permanently incorporated into the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire, for, in subsequent years, Govinda III is found to take sufficient care for the protection of its ruler against the incursions of the Gurjaras.

Nâgabhaṭa, though he was not strong enough to cope successfully with the Râṣṭrakûṭa power, was evidently a general of a high order. Having now been deprived of his paternal throne, he thought it wise to try his luck in the north. There he found that the whole of the region from Bengal right up to the border of the Punjab was under the sway of the Pâlas of Bengal, and that a chief named Cakrâyudha had been ruling in Kanauj as their protégé.[2] Of the Pâlas and the Râṣṭrakûṭas,

1 Kosala is the upper valley of the Mahanadi and its tributaries, from the source of the Narmada on the north to the source of the Mahanadi itself on the south. Veṃgi corresponds to the modern Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, a village in the Godavari District. Ḍâhala is the Cedi country, whose capital was Tripurî (mod. Tewar, 6 miles west of Jubbulpore, on the Narmada).

Mr Cunningham, on the evidence of the report of Hiuen Tsang, states that Kosala was bounded by Ujjain on the north, Mahârâṣṭra on the west, Orissa on the east, and Andhra and Kaliṅga on the south. This shows that all these countries which Govinda III conquered were contiguous. (An. Geog., edited by S. N. Majumdar, p. 603).

2 Bâṅglâr Itihâs, by R. D. Banerji, Vol. I, pp. 191 ff. (2nd edition).

the former were evidently the less powerful. It has been noticed above that the Pâla Dharmapâla and his subordinate Cakrâyudha had on a previous occasion been forced to submit to the military power of Govinda III. Hence the rise of Nâgabhaṭa, as verse 10 of Bhoja's Gwalior inscription[1] purports to say, was possible only if he could defeat the king of Bengal. He enlisted the services of Kakka, the Pratihâra king of Jodhpur, Bâhukadhavala, the feudatory chief of Saurâṣṭra, and some other princes, and marched against Bengal.[2] Dharmapâla arrayed his army near Monghyr to oppose him, but was defeated and forced to retreat.[3] It was now very difficult for Cakrâyudha to hold his position any longer. He surrendered to Nâgabhaṭa his territory of Kanauj where a new Pratihâra sovereignty was readily established.[4] Subsequently, Nâgabhaṭa made another attempt to regain his lost dominion of Mâlava, and apparently succeeded in capturing an outlying fortress of that country.[5] But the effect of this achievement was but temporary. During the reign of Nâgabhaṭa's successor Râmabhadra (A. D. 833—835), Gwalior formed the southern boundary of the Pratihâra kingdom of Kanauj.[6]

1 E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 112.

2 J. Dep. L, Vol. X, p. 40.

3 Ibid.; E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 112, v. 10.

4 Vatsarâja is described as the ruler of Avanti. The Prabhâvaka-carita (E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 179, fn. 3) mentions his successor, Nâgabhaṭa, as "Nâgâvaloka of Kanauj." In the early years of the 9th century A. D. Cakrâyudha was the ruler of Kanauj, who is reported to have sustained a reverse at the hands of Nâgabhaṭa. Hence it can hardly be doubted that it was during the reign of Nâgabhaṭa that Kanauj became a kingdom of the Pratihâras.

5 E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 112, v. 11.

6 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 154 ff.

Not only the Pratihâras of Kanauj, but also those of the Jodhpur branch, were a constant source of trouble to the newly established Mâlava government.[1] These Jodhpur Pratihâras gained new life and vigour under their ruler Kakka, who acquired much reputation by fighting successfully against Dharmapâla of Bengal at Monghyr.[2] Kakka was apparently a contemporary of Govinda III and Nâgabhaṭa II, as his son and successor Bâuka is known to have been ruling in V. S. 894 = A. D. 837.[3] His success over the king of Bengal encouraged him to lead an army against his south-eastern neighbour, the new ruler of Mâlava, whose name is not definitely mentioned in any record. He seems to have gained a preliminary success over the Mâlava chief. But Govinda III readily came to the assistance of his feudatory, and succeeded in routing Kakka's forces. After this, as a safeguard against further trouble, the Râṣṭrakûṭa monarch appointed his feudatory Karkarâja a guardian for the protection of the high road to Mâlava against the incursions of the Gurjaras. Karkarâja's grant, dated 812-13 A. D, tells us that[4] "having for the purpose of protecting (the king of) Mâlava, who had been struck down, caused his (Karkarâja's) arm to become the excellent door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gurjaras, who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of

1 In the middle of the 6th century A. D. the Gurjaras advanced from their settlements in the Punjab towards Rajputana About that time the Pratihâra Haricandra founded a kingdom in the territory now roughly represented by the Jodhpur State. He was followed by a line of princes, who maintained their political authority until the middle of the 9th century A. D. (J. Dep L., Vol. X, pp. 7, 13, 14).

2 E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 98, v. 24.

3 Ibid., p. 94.

4 I. A., Vol. XII, p. 164, v 39—Baroda plates.

Gauḍa and the lord of Vaṅga,—his master (Govinda III) thus enjoys his other (arm) also as (embodying all) the fruits of sovereignty." [1]

This is, in my opinion, the real history of the overthrow of the Pratihâra rule in Mâlava, which was henceforward governed by a subordinate chief of the imperial Râṣṭrakûṭas. The date of this memorable event can be fixed within the narrow limit of a few years. From the Radhanpur plates, dated 808 A. D., we know definitely that Govinda III, on the humble submission of the old king of Mâlava, allowed the latter to govern his own territory. But the Sanjan plates, dated 871 A. D., inform us that it was finally acquired by the same Râṣṭrakûṭa king, and was handed over to one of his officers for administration. This proves that Mâlava became a part of the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire some time after 808 A.D. The Baroda plate of Karkarâja, as has been observed above, records the arrangements which Govinda III made for the protection of the Mâlava prince against the onslaughts of the Gurjaras. As this grant is dated 812-13 A. D.,

1 I agree with Dr. R. C. Majumdar in thinking that Nâgabhaṭa, Kakka, and others formed a confederacy against Dharmapâla, and defeated the latter in Monghyr (J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 40). If this proves to be true, then the allied army must have achieved this success before 812-13 A. D., the date of the Baroda plate of Karkarâja, in which the fact is recorded. It has been seen above that, as the result of this victory, Kanauj fell into the hands of Nâgabhaṭa. Henceforth it was for a long time the chief seat of the Pratihâras. It follows from this that, when the Baroda plate was issued in 812 A. D., Nâgabhaṭa was ruling in Kanauj and Kakka in Jodhpur. In these circumstances, Karkarâja, who was the ruler of Central and Southern Gujarat, could only serve as a "door-bar" of the territory of the Jodhpur Pratihâras, and not of the kingdom of Nâgabhaṭa, which lay far to the north-east of Mâlava, at Kanauj.

the acquisition of Mâlava and the appointment of a ruler over it by Govinda III must have taken place before that date. From all these facts it can safely be asserted that between the years 808 and 812 A. D., the Gurjara -Pratihâras were expelled from Mâlava and its sovereignty was assumed by a new ruling chief, as a vassal of the Râṣṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa.

I shall now try to show that this new ruler of Mâlava was, in all probability, Upendra-Kṛṣṇarâja, the founder of the Paramâra dynasty.

The Râṣṭrakûṭas, having conquered a large tract of land on the north of the Narmada, divided it generally among the efficient members of their own family. Govinda III posted his brother Indrarâja, who was the father of Karkarâja of the Baroda plate, in the province of Lâṭa and Gujarat.[1] Similarly in Pathari, in the Bhopal Agency of Central India, and in Bijapur, in the Jodhpur State of Southern Rajputana, other Râṣṭrakûṭa princes are found ruling about this period.[2] Between Pathari and Gujarat lay the country of Mâlava. It is very probable that Govinda III set up another member of his family in the government of this country, which was undoubtedly a responsible office. The Harsola grant of Sîyaka II, quoted above, testifies to the fact that Upendra and his successors were descended from the royal family of the Râṣṭrakûṭas. The Ā'īn-i-Akbarī states that the hero who founded the Paramâra dynasty in Mâlava came there from the South.[3] The period when Upendra assumed the royalty of Mâlava can now be approximately determined. Vâkpati-Muñja, the seventh king in descent from Upendra, ascended the

1 I. A., Vol. XII, p. 163, line 30.
2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 248; ibid., Vol. X, p. 17.
3 *Translated by Jarrett, Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.*

throne between 971 and 972 A. D. If a period of twenty-five years is allowed to each reign, Upendra's accession is to be considered as having taken place in the first quarter of the 9th century A. D. Professor Buhler is of opinion that Upendra ascended the throne of Mâlava shortly after 800 A. D. [1] It has already been seen above that the charge of the government of Mâlava was undertaken by a new ruling chief after the overthrow of the Pratihâra dynasty, between the years 808 and 812 A. D. This corresponds with the period in which Upendra flourished. All these considerations, in spite of the absence of any definite evidence, favour the identification of Upendra with the subordinate chief, whom Govinda III appointed to rule the country of Mâlava. He probably followed the Râṣṭrakûṭa army in its northern march, and was entrusted with this office in return for his valuable military service. The Udayapur praśasti tells us that he "gained the high honour of kingship by his valour." [2]

Thus we see that it was from the south of the Narmada that the Paramâra family was brought to Mâlava by Upendra Kṛṣṇarâja. Upendra was followed by a line of kings who ruled this country for nearly five hundred years, till the dynasty was finally overthrown by the Moslems.

Archæological research has discovered the existence of some more branch-lines of the Paramâras, four in number, who held sway over the modern Banswara, Mount Abu, and the Jodhpur State, in Rajputana.

The history of the Paramâra family of Banswara, which was anciently known as Vâgaḍa, is to be gathered mainly from the Arthuna inscription [3] of Câmuṇḍarâja,

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 225. 2 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 237, v. 7.
3 Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 297.

dated 1080 A. D., and the Panhera inscription[1] of Maṇḍalika, dated 1059 A. D. The origin of this family is also traced from the hero Paramâra, who was believed to have been born from the fire-pit on Mount Abu.[2] In the lineage of this hero was born Vairisiṃha, whose younger brother was Ḍambarasiṃha. In the lineage of the last mentioned prince there was a king named Kakkadeva, who was followed by a long line of princes.[3] I agree with Dr. Barnett in thinking[4] that this Vairisiṃha is identical with the Vairisiṃha I who was the son and successor of Upendra Kṛṣṇarâja. It follows, therefore, that this Paramâra family was a collateral branch of the main house of Dhârâ, and settled in Banswara in the middle of the 9th century A. D.

Numerous historical records stand to prove that a Paramâra family held sway for a long time over Mount Abu, which lies in the modern Sirohi State of Rajputana. The Vasantgaḍh inscription[5] of Pûrṇapâla is the earliest known record of this family. It relates that through the anger of Vasiṣṭha, a hero was born from whom the Paramâra family took its origin. In his lineage there was a king Utpalarâja, from whom sprang Araṇyarâja. Araṇyarâja was followed by a long line of princes who were known as the rulers of Arbudamaṇḍala.

An inscription from Mount Abu,[6] while describing the story of the fire-birth of the great hero Paramâra, tells us that in his lineage was Kanhâḍa, in whose family was born Dhandhu, the lord of the town of Candrâvatî, in Mount Abu. Dhandhu may reasonably be identified

1 A. S. I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19.
2 E. I., Vol. XIV, pp. 303-4.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 296.
5 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 10.
6 Ibid., p. 155.

with the father of Pûrṇapâla of the Vasantgaḍh inscription. As no king named Kanhâḍa is found in the genealogy of the Paramâra rulers of Mount Abu, as stated by the Vasantgaḍh inscription, it appears probable that he preceded Utpalarâja. We have ample evidence to prove that the names Kanhâḍa and Kṛṣṇarâja are synonymous. In the two Mount Abu inscriptions,[1] both dated 1287 V. S., the Paramâra Somasiṃha's son and successor is mentioned in one place as Kanhâḍa and in another place as Kṛṣṇarâja. In the Ujjain plate of Vâkpati-Muñja,[2] the earliest ruler of the family is mentioned as Kṛṣṇarâja, who is identified by all the modern scholars[3] with Upendra, the founder of the sovereignty of this family in Mâlava. In ancient records,[4] like Kanhâḍa of the Mount Abu inscription, Upendra is described as being born in the lineage of the hero Paramâra, and as the first king of the family. Taking all these things into consideration, I am inclined to believe that Kanhâḍa of the Mount Abu inscription is identical with Kṛṣṇarâja of Vâkpati-Muñja's Ujjain grant.[5]

Vâkpati-Muñja, seventh in descent from Upendra-Kṛṣṇarâja, was also known by the name Utpala.[6] In

1 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 211, v. 42; cf. ibid., p. 222, line 26. Kanhâḍa is a regular Prakrit equivalent for Kṛṣṇa.

2 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 52.

3 J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, p. 114, fn.; E. I., Vol. I, p. 225; I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 167.

4 E. I., Vol. I, p. 225; I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 167.

5 In the Mount Abu inscription Dhandhu is described as the foremost of the heroes that were born in the family of Kanhâḍadeva (Tat-kula-kamala-vîrâgragaṇi Dhaṃhu—E. I., Vol. IX, p. 155, v. 5). This suggests that Dhandhu was removed by several generations from Kanhâḍa. Hence Kanhâḍadeva cannot be identical with Adbhuta-kṛṣṇarâja, who was the grandfather of Dhandu.

6 I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 163.

my opinion, this Paramâra king is to be identified with the prince of the same name mentioned in the Vasantgaḍh inscription. Of all the rulers of the Paramâra family, Vâkpati-Muñja or Utpala was the first to lead his army into the neighbourhood of Mount Abu, during his military excursions. If all the records,[1] throwing light on his northern conquest, are considered together, it follows that he, having conquered Mewar and its neighbourhood, reached the country of Marwar and threatened to overthrow the existing Câhamâna government.[2] There follows in the next chapter an exhaustive discussion on this subject proving that he succeeded in securing the southern portion of it, though his attempt to conquer Nadol met with signal failure.[3] Prior to undertaking the expedition against Marwar, he must have conquered Mount Abu, which stood in his line of approach to that country. During this time he probably established several Paramâra settlements in his newly conquered territories and appointed his son Araṇyarâja to look after the administration of the province of Abu (Arbudamaṇḍala).[4]

1 E. I., Vol. X, p. 20; I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 18; E. I., Vol. XI, pp. 67 ff.; ibid., Vol. IX, p. 71, vide post, Chapt. III.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Some scholars suggest that Mount Abu was the original home of the Paramâras, whence they migrated to Mâlava and there founded a kingdom of their own ("The Early History of India", by V. A. Smith, p. 410, 4th ed.). This is entirely based on the traditional belief that the founder of the Paramâra family took his birth from a fire-pit on Mount Abu. In my opinion, very little importance should be attached to this mythical story. Tradition also connects the birth of the founders of the Câhamânas, Caulukyas, and the Pratihâras with the same Mount Abu. It would not be wise to infer from this that all of them originally

Of the remaining two branch lines, it is known that one established its authority at Jalor and the other at Bhinmal, both of them being situated in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana. The history of the Jalor branch is known from an inscription [1] found at Jalor, bearing the date V. S. 1174=1117 A. D. Here the genealogy of the family is drawn from Vâkpâtirâja, whose son was Candana. Candana apparently flourished in the last quarter of the 10th century A. D., which was also the period of Vâkpati-Muñja's rule (973-996 A. D.). [2] This leads me to conclude with Dr. Bhandarkar that Vâkpati of the Jalor inscription is apparently the same as Vâkpati-Muñja of Dhârâ.

Our knowledge about the history of the Bhinmal branch is mainly limited to the evidence furnished by an inscription [3] discovered in the wall of a temple in Kiraḍu. The record is dated 1218 V. S.=1161 A. D. Here Sindhurâja is described as the earliest member of the family, whose son and successor was Dûsala. This Sindhurâja may probably be identified with the younger brother and successor of Vâkpati-Muñja. Vâkpati, as has been noticed above, once proceeded as far as the country of Marwar, in the course of his military campaigns. It may be that during that time Candana and Dûsala were posted in Jalor and Bhinmal respectively as Viceroys of the imperial house of Dhârâ.

lived on it and later migrated in different directions. Mount Abu has been considered as a place of great sanctity from time immemorial. The author of the above story probably connected it with that locality in order to make it more attractive and popular.

1 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (Western Circle), 1919, p. 54. (Unpublished).

2 Vide post, Chapt. X.

3 Unpublished.

If my above assertions prove to be true, we may find here some landmarks of the history of the Paramâras' gradual expansion. The tradition runs that the Paramâras were divided into thirty-five branches (śâkhâs),[1] viz.: the

1	Mori	13	Bhiva	25	Harnar
2	Soḍhas	14	Kalpusar	26	Caonda
3	Saṅkhala	15	Kalmoh	27	Khejav
4	Khair	16	Jipra	28	Kohila
5	Umja	17	Pasra	29	Papa
6	Sumra	18	Dhumta	30	Kahovia
7	Vihal or Bihal	19	Balhar	31	Dhand
8	Mepawat	20	Kaba	32	Deva
9	Sagra	21	Umata	33	Barhar
10	Barkota	22	Rehar	34	Rikamra
11	Puni	23	Dhunda	35	Taika.
12	Sampal	24	Sorathia		

Nothing is known of their early existence. They were, no doubt, the ramifications of the early ruling Paramâra families. The existence of some of these branch-lines can be traced now in Western Rajputana and the Kathiawar Peninsula.[2]

Now, if all these discussions are briefly summarised, it follows that, between 808 and 812 A. D., Upendra, a member of the Râṣṭrakûṭa race, obtained the sovereignty of Mâlava, through the favour of the Râṣṭrakûṭa Govinda III, who wrested the country from the Pratihâra Nâgabhaṭa II. Later, when his successors assumed imperial rank, they, following the general custom of the age, traced their descent from a mythical

1 Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Râjasthan. Ed. by Crooke, 1920, Vol. I, pp. 111-112.

2 Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 127-28.

hero named Paramâra. Ḍambarasiṃha, a son of Upendra, founded a principality in the modern Banswara State. In the last quarter of the 10th century A. D., three more junior lines branched off from the ruling family of Dhârâ and established governments in Abu, Jalor, and Bhinmal, where they ruled for a long time. The Paramâras, as they multiplied in the course of ages, split up into numerous small branches, and settled in various parts of Rajputana, Gujarat, and Kathiawar, in most cases without attaining to any considerable political power.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY PARAMÂRA RULERS

In this and the following chapters, I shall now try to narrate the history of all the known branches of the Paramâra dynasty. It has been noticed already that the family which held its sway in Malwa formed the main line, and the others were its offshoots. These rulers of Malwa played an important rôle in the history of ancient India, and once attained a high imperial position. They were sometimes designated as lords of Malwa and sometimes as kings of Avanti. They were also known as rulers of Ujjain and Dhârâ. In their palmy days, the boundary of their realm extended on the north up to the modern Kotah and Bundi States,[1] beyond which lay the territory of the Kacchapaghâtas of Dubkund and the Guhilots of Mewar;[2] on the east up to Bhilsa, Hoshangabad and part of the Sagor District[3] which bordered on the kingdoms of the Kalacuris of Tripurî and the Candellas of Jejâkabhukti; on the south to the river Godavari[4] and the country of Khandesh,[5] beyond which lay the dominions of the Câlukyas of Kalyani; on the west up to the river Mahi,[6] which separated it from the land of the Caulukya rulers of Gujarat. In the latter part of the tenth century A. D., when Padmagupta

1 Transactions of the R. A. S., Vol. I, pp. 227 ff.

2 E. I., Vol. II, p. 232.

3 I. A., Vol. XX, pp. 83-84.

4 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 33.

5 E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 69.

6 Proceedings and Transactions—Oriental Conference, Poona, p. 319; ibid., Madras, 1924, p. 303, fn.; E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 236.

flourished (972-1000 A. D.), Ujjain became for a time the seat of its government.[1]

The modern city of Ujjain is situated on the right bank of the Sipra, in Gwalior State, Central India Agency, and the ancient site lies in ruins about a mile to the north of it. It is an old city of great repute. Long before the ascendency of the Paramâras, Dhârâ had attained to the position of the chief city in Malwa. Îśvaravarman, the Maukhari king of Kanauj, repelled an attack of the king of Dhârâ.[2] Padmagupta describes Dhârâ as the "other city" of the king Sindhurâja, and also as the "capital of his race."[3] This proves that it was at Dhârâ that the family first established its government. In the early part of the 11th century A.D., the city was rebuilt,[4] and the royal residence was transferred thither. In the Pârijâtamañjarî, Dhârâ is described as the city of palaces, containing beautiful pleasure gardens on the hills around it.[5] It was famous for its skilful musicians and learned scholars. A high state of civilisation and refinement prevailed there.[6] It is the modern town of Dhar, the headquarters of the State of the same name in Central India, and is three-quarters of a mile long and half a mile broad. Mr. Cunningham remarks that "As the citadel is outside the town, the whole circuit of the place cannot be less than 3½ miles."[7]

1 Navasâhasâṅka-carita, sarga XI, verse 99.
prašâsti parito viśvam Ujjiyinyâṃ puri sthitaḥ ।
ayaṃ Yayâti-Mândhâtṛ-Duṣyanta-Bharatopamaḥ ॥
2 Fleet's Gupta Inscription, p 230.
3 Aparâ-purî ; kula-râjadhânî ; Navas, sarga I, vs. 90-91.
4 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 46.
5 E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 101 ff.
6 Ibid.
7 An. Geo., p. 562.

UPENDRA.

We have dealt at length in the foregoing chapter on the course of events that led to the settlement of the Paramâra family in Malwa. There we have noticed that Upendra was the first king of this dynasty, and was a subordinate chief of the Râṣṭrakûṭa Govinda III. Both the Udayapur Praśasti [1] and the Navasâhasâṅka-carita [2] state that Upendra was a king of great valour, and was particularly famous for performing a 'multitude of sacrifices." The first record further tells us that the king reduced the burden of taxes borne by his subjects.[3] It again recounts that his fame spread far and wide — which formed the subject-matter of the Song of Sîtâ and which comforted her, just as Hanumâna consoled the weary mind af Sîtâ, the wife of the epic hero Râma, during her captivity in the city of Laṅkâ (Ceylon). [4] The Prabandhacintâmaṇi [5] reports that there was a poetess named Sîtâ who lived in the court of Bhoja. It may be that the above verse of the Navasâhasâṅka-carita refers to a certain eulogy which was composed by that poetess in honour of Upendra. [6]

In the two land grants [7] of Vâkpati-Muñja, there appears a name Kṛṣṇarâja, at whose feet Vairisiṃha II, the father of Sîyaka-Harṣa, meditated. Mr. Hall remarks that the names Upendra and Kṛṣṇarâja are synonymous. [8] As the Udayapur Praśasti does not mention any king by

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 225.
2 Sarga XI, v. 76.
3 Ibid., vv. 76, 78.
4 Ibid., v. 77.
5 Prabandha, p. 63.
6 Vide Chapter VIII.
7 I. A., Vol VI, p. 48 ; ibid, Vol. XIV, p. 160.
8 J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, p. 114, fn

the name Kṛṣṇarâja, he is to be identified with Upendra. Mr. Hall's view is supported by Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Bühler, and Mr. Burgess.[1]

Upendra began his rule between the years 808 and 812 A. D. We may, for the sake of convenience, provisionally take it as 809-810 A. D. A period of 162 years had elapsed between this date and the year of the accession of Vâkpati-Muñja (971-972 A. D.). This gives approximately a period of 27 years reign to each generation from Upendra to Sîyaka II. Following this, Upendra's reign came to a close in 837 A. D

The Udayapur Praśasti of the rulers of Malwa informs us that Upendra was followed by Vairisiṃha I, Sîyaka I, and Vâkpati I.[2] Padmagupta, though he does not expressly mention the names of Vairisiṃha I, and Sîyaka I, confirms the fact of their succession by stating that between Upendra and Vâkpati I there came a number of rulers.[3]

1 E. I., Vol. I, p 225; I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 167.

2 E. I., Vol. I, p. 225.

3 Tasmin gate narendreṣu tadanyeṣu gateṣu ca |
Tatra Vâkpatirâjâkhyaḥ pârthivendur ajâyata ||
(Navas°, sarga XI, v. 80.)

Mr. C. V. Vaidya denies the succession of Vairisiṃha I, Sîyaka I, and Vâkpati I, and remarks that the Udayapur Praśasti's account regarding those three kings is conventional (History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. II, p. 123). I do not find any ground in support of this assertion. Padmagupta, who is one of the earliest authorities to give the history of the Paramâra dynasty of Malwa, tells us that Vairisiṃha II's father was Vâkpati I. He further states, as we have already seen, that between Vâkpati I and Upendra there came a number of other rulers. In these circumstances it cannot be asserted that the Udayapur Praśasti's account regarding the immediate successors of Upendra is altogether conventional. It should not be deemed absurd that Vairisiṃha I, Sîyaka I, and Vâkpati I were followed

VAIRISIMHA I.

Vairisiṃha I succeeded to the throne, after the close of his father's reign, about the year 836-7 A. D. His younger brother, Ḍaṃbarasiṃha, received the province of Vâgaḍa, probably from him, and ruled there as a feudatory of the House of Malwa.[1] Nothing in particular is known to us about the military exploits of this new king. The poet describes how he erected pillars of victory in different parts of the earth and levied taxes from a large number of kings who were very favourably disposed towards him on account of his divine qualities.[2] On the strength of this verse some scholars are inclined to attribute to him the erection of the iron pillar at Dhârâ.[3] He was succeeded by Sîyaka I about 863 A. D.

SÎYAKA I.

Our knowledge concerning the reign of this king is also very meagre. He is described as a great conqueror

by another set of kings bearing similar names in the same order. Several inscriptions furnish us with the following genealogical table of the Kalacuri rulers of Ratanpur, where the same sort of repetition is to be noticed.

(a) Ratnarâja (or Ratneśa),
(b) Pṛthvîśa (or Pṛthvîdeva),
(c) Jâjalla,
(d) Ratnadeva,
(e) Pṛthvîdeva,
(f) Jâjalladeva,
(g) Ratnadeva,
(h) Pṛthvîdeva.

(E. I., Vol. I, p. 46)

1 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 296.
2 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 237.
3 A. S. I, 1902-3, p. 207.

and is said to have slain a host of his enemies.[1] His successor was Vâkpati I, who probably ascended the throne about the year 890-91 A. D.

VÂKPATI I.

Verse 10 of the Udayapur Praśasti[2] describes this chief as "a sun for (those) water-lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti." This indirectly proves his supreme control over that country. He is compared with Śatamakha (Indra)[3] for his military valour, and his armies are said to have drunk the waters of Gaṅgâ and of the ocean. This is no doubt a panegyric of the poet.

VAIRISIṂHA II.

Vâkpati's rule seems to have come to a close about the year 917-18 A. D., when the charge of the government was assumed by his son Vairisiṃha II, who was also known by the name of Vajraṭa.[4]

Our information regarding the military exploits of these five Paramâra rulers, from Upendra to Vairisiṃha II, is very scanty. This is because they still held their authority as subordinates of the Râṣṭrakûṭas of the Deccan, and did not possess resources enough to wage aggressive war against the powerful neighbouring chiefs. In fact, the rise of the Paramâras entirely depended upon the decline and downfall of the Gurjara-Pratihâra power in the north and of the Râṣṭrakûṭa suzerainty in the south. In the following paragraphs I shall try to show how, passing through many adversities, they

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 237, v. 9.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., v. II.

ultimately succeeded in throwing off the yoke of subordination. It was probably during the early part of the reign of Vairisiṃha II that the Paramâra rule suffered an eclipse at the hand of the Pratihâras of Kanauj.

The Pratihâra Râmabhadra, son of Nâgabhaṭa II, was weak and destitute of military valour.[1] He was succeeded by Bhoja, who was famous for his skill in the art of war. This monarch distinguished himself by numerous conquests, and extended the boundary of his realm far and wide. In the south-west the Câlukyas of Saurâṣṭra seem to have acknowledged his sway.[2] But his attempt to push his arms further met with signal failure. He could not force his way into the Râṣṭrakûṭa kingdom, which extended up to Malwa and Lâṭa on the north. He was defeated by Dhruva II, the Râṣṭrakûṭa chief of Lâṭa, some time before 867 A. D.[3] That Malwa still formed a part of the Râṣṭrakûṭa dominion is shown by several epigraphic records. The Nilgund inscription,[4] dated 866 A. D., of the reign of Amoghavarṣa, reports that the king was worshipped by the lord of Malwa. On the eve of his march against the kingdom of Kanauj, the Râṣṭrakûṭa Indra III (914 A. D.) halted at Ujjain and paid his devotions to the temple of Mahâkâla.[5] So long as Indra III was on the throne of the Deccan, the Pratihâras of Kanauj could not gain much advantage in the south.[6] But his death, shortly before 918 A. D., was followed by anarchy in the Râṣṭrakûṭa kingdom. Govinda IV contrived to put his own elder brother, the successor of Indra III, to death, and usurped the

1 J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 47.
2 E. I., Vol IX, pp. 1 ff.
3 I. A., Vol. XII, p. 181.
4 E. I., Vol. VI, p. 102.
5 Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 29-30.
6 J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 66.

throne.[1] He was tyrannical, and during his reign lawlessness and disorder convulsed the great Râṣṭrakûṭa empire.[2] The Pratihâra government, which only a few years back had suffered a rude shock at the hand of Indra III,[3] did not let the changed situation in the Deccan pass unnoticed. The Pratihâra Bhoja I was followed by Mahendrapâla I and Bhoja II. Mahîpâla, who ruled between 914 and 946 A. D., succeeded Bhoja II.[4] He was a great warrior. The recent outbreak of the revolution in the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire offered him free scope for the display of his military talents. His armies in their triumphant march moved from country to country. Râjaśekhara, the court poet of Mahîpâla, gives the following vivid description of his master's military achievements, with a touch of poetic inspiration.[5]

"Of that lineage was born the glorious Mahîpâladeva, who has bowed down the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of the Muralas, who has caused the Mekalas to suppurate, who has driven the Kaliṅgas before him in war; who has spoilt the pastime of (the king who is) the moon of the Keralas; who has conquered the Kulûṭas; who is a very axe to the Kuntalas; and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramaṭhas."

Most of the countries described here bordered the Pratihâra empire, and Dr. R. C. Majumdar has ably shown that there is no valid reason to regard the above description merely as a poetic hyperbole.[6] Kuntala was the name of the country south of the Narmada, over which the Râṣṭrakûṭas ruled. Mahîpâla's war with the

1 E. I., Vol. VII, p. 34.
2 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 288.
3 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 28.
4 J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 75.
5 Ibid., Vol. X, p. 63.
6 Ibid., p. 64 ff.

Kuntalas is also narrated by Pampâbhârata.[1] He seems to have conquered and annexed the country of Malwa just about this time.

The Kalacuris of Gorakhpur District (United Provinces) were evidently feudatories of the Pratihâras of Kanauj. Gunâmbodhi, a prince of this family, became a favourite of Bhoja (934-990 A. D.), and obtained land from him.[2] He helped his suzerain with men and arms in his conquest of Bengal.[3] His successor was Ullabha, who was again followed by Bhâmâna. The last-mentioned king was apparently a contemporary of Mahîpâla, the king of Kanauj (914-931, A. D.), who was the grand-son of Bhoja. It is known from the Kahla plate that he distinguished himself by the conquest of Dhârâ.[4] As he was a petty local ruler under the Pratihâras of Kanauj, it was certainly impossible for him to undertake, on his own account, any military expedition against such a distant country as Malwa. In all likelihood he accompanied his overlord Mahîpâla on his southern march and shared that victory with him. It settles one important fact that Malwa was not annexed to the kingdom of Kanauj before this time. But that the Pratihâras asserted their supremacy over it about this period admits of no doubt. The Partabgarh inscription,[5] dated 946 A. D., of the reign of Mahendrapâla II, who was the son and successor of Mahîpâla, records that in the year 946 A. D., Mâdhava was the great feudatory lord and governor of Ujjain, and

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 380.

2 E. I., Vol. VII, p. 89, v. 9. Kahla plate of Sodha Deva, vs. 5, 11, 34.

3 Ibid.; J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 52.

4 ....nija-vijayi-pa(d-o)ddhâra-Dhârâvanîśa-(hrṣya)t-senâ-jaya-śrî-haṭha-haraṇa-kalâ-dhâma Bhâmânadevaḥ ॥ v. 13.

5 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 176

Śrîśarman, who was a commander-in-chief, was carrying on the affairs of state at Maṇḍapikâ (modern Mandu, in the Dhar State, C. I.), under this Pratihâra monarch. Mâdhava, having worshipped the god Mahâkâla at Ujjain, on the Mîna-Saṃkrânti day, granted the village of Dhârâ-padraka for the maintenance of the temple of Indrâditya-deva at Ghoṇta-varṣikâ. This indubitably proves the supreme control of the Pratihâras of Kanauj over Malwa at this period. But this state of things did not long continue. Mahîpâla was the last great king of his dynasty. Within a very short time after the accession of his son, Mahendrapâla II, the vast Pratihâra empire began to disintegrate. It may be noted here that the dismemberment of the two great imperial dynasties of India, *viz.*, the Pratihâra and the Râṣṭra-kûṭa, began about the same time, in the middle of the tenth century A. D. This offered a golden opportunity to the other subsidiary ruling families to take the best advantage of it. Yaśovarman, the Candella king of Bundelkhand (925-50 A. D.), seems to have been the first among them to assail the Pratihâra empire.[1] He wrested from it the greater portion of its southern territories. Some time before 953 A. D., the Candella kingdom is found to extend[2] from the river Jumna on the north to the frontiers of Cedi on the south, and from Kalinjar on the east or north-east to Gopâdri or the modern Gwalior on the north-west. Such an advance illustrates only too clearly the disastrous condition of the Pratihâra government. The empire which once stretched up to the river Narmada on the south had now been pushed back so far that it was bordered by Gwalior.

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 132, v. 23.
2 Ibid., p. 134, v. 45.

During this period of turmoil and disorder the dethroned Paramâra Vairisiṃha II, who seems to have been living in exile in the Râṣṭrakûṭa kingdom, did not remain inactive. He availed himself of the situation to the best of his ability, and spared no pains to revive the Paramâra rule in Malwa. He seems to have received forces from the Râṣṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa, with which he fell upon the viceroy of Mahendrapâla II and blotted out the last vestige of Pratihâra supremacy by his total expulsion. Verse 11 of the Udayapur Praśasti[1] seems to give a hint to that effect. It records that[2] "By that king (Vairisiṃha II) the famous Dhârâ was indicated, when he slew the crowd of his enemies with the edge of his sword." Mr. Buhler remarks[3] that this expression means, "smiting the foe with the edge of his sword the king indicated that Dhârâ belonged to him."

Thus Paramâra rule was re-established in Malwa presumably with the help of the imperial Raṣṭrakûṭas. From this time forward its outlook was completely changed, and its angle of perspective differently shaped. The old ruling families were fast vanishing from the political platform, yielding place to a new set. The Paramâras, as we shall see below, seized every opportunity to increase their power.

SÎYAKA II.

Vairisiṃha II died soon after the reconquest of Malwa. He was succeeded by his son Sîyaka, some

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 235.

2 Ibid.—Jâtas tasmâd Vairisiṃho 'nyanâmnâ loko brûte [Vajraṭa] svâminaṃ yaṃ |
Śatror vvarggaṃ dhârayâser nnihatya Srîmad-Dhârâ sûcitâ yena râjñâ ||

3 Ibid., footnote 86.

time before 949 A.D., who in the early years of his reign assumed the titles of Mahârâjâdhirâjapati and mahâmaṇḍalika-cuḍâmaṇi.[1] Sîyaka was also known as Harṣa.[2] It is now beyond all dispute that Sîyaka and Harṣa were names of one and the same king, as both are described in the epigraphic records as the father of Sindhurâja.[3] The Udayapur Praśasti and the Arthuna inscription mention him as Harṣa,[4] and Merutuṅga calls him by the name Siṃhadantabhaṭa.[5] But in the rest of the ancient records the king is introduced to us as Sîyaka. Mr. Buhler thinks[6] that the complete name of the king was probably Harṣasiṃha, both parts of which were used as abbreviations. He further remarks that "The form Sîyaka is a half Prakritic corruption of Siṃhaka, for in modern Gujarati and other dialects the termination Siṃha becomes in names not only Siṃha or Singh, but very commonly Si which is immediately derived from the Prakrit Siha. Thus Amarsi is used instead of Amarasiṃha, etc." I beg to differ from the learned scholar on this point. Sîyaka was the name of an early Paramâra chief, and it follows from this fact that it can stand by itself as a proper name.

Two inscriptions of Sîyaka's reign have recently been discovered.

1 E. I., Vol. XIX, P. 242. The combination of the titles Mahâmaṇḍalika-cuḍâmaṇi and Mahârâjâdhirâjapati is unusual. But it is not very uncommon in ancient Indian records. In the Kayadra inscription of Dhârâvarṣa, the king is called Mahârâjâdhirâja Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara.

(Vide post Chapter IX.)

2 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 299. v. 19.

3 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 227; I. A., Vol. VI., pp. 51, 53.

4 E. I., Vol. I, p. 227; Vol. XIV, p. 299, v. 19.

5 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 30.

6 E. I., Vol. I, p. 225.

(a) The Harsola grant,[1] dated V. S. 1005, Mâgha = 949 A, D., January, records that Sîyaka from his camp on the bank of the Mahî river, having worshipped the god Śivanâtha, granted the two villages of Kumbhâroṭaka and Sîhakâ in the Mohaḍavâsaka -viṣaya respectively to Lallopâdhyâya, son of Govardhana, and to his son Nînâ Dikṣita, who were inhabitants of Ânandapura.

Of the localities mentioned above, Mohaḍavâsaka is to be identified with the modern village of Mohdasa, in the Prantej taluk, Ahmedabad District, and Kumbhâroṭaka and Sîhakâ with Kamrod and Sika near Modasa. The river Mahî, which flows into the Gulf of Cambay, still retains its ancient name. Ânandapura is the modern Vadnagar, in the Baroda State.

(b) The second record[2] is an odd copper plate, the first part of which is lost. It is evidently a land grant, containing the sign manual of Śrî-Sîyaka, which was issued on the fifteenth day of the dark half of the year Saṃ 1026 = 969 A.D., October. The record was executed by the dâpaka Kaṇhapaika by order of the king.

WAR WITH THE CÂLUKYAS OF SAURÂṢṬRA.

Sîyaka was a great general and an able soldier. He found an open field for the display of his warlike activities, and began to frame extensive schemes for conquest. The first object of his attack seems to have been the Câḷukyas of Saurâṣṭramaṇḍala. The princes of this family had been ruling their territory as vassals of the Pratihâra dynasty of Kanauj.[3] Bâhukadhavala, an early ruler of the dynasty, appears to

1 E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 236.
2 Ibid., p. 177.
3 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 1 ff.

have helped Nâgabhaṭa II in his war against the Pâlas of Bengal and the Râṣṭrakûṭas of the Deccan.[1] Avanivarman II, who was also called Yoga, was his great-grandson.[2] He probably offered strong opposition to Vairisiṃha II in his war against the Pratihâras, and subsequently intrigued for the revival of the Pratihâra supremacy in Malwa. This perhaps led Sîyaka to launch a campaign against his western neighbour. On this occasion his task was greatly facilitated when the ruler of Kheḍakamaṇḍala (modern Kaira, in Gujarat), a vassal of the imperial Râṣṭrakûṭas,[3] co-operated with him. The Harsola inscription purports to say that Yogarâja was completely defeated.[4] Sîyaka, on his way back from that campaign, halted on the bank of the Mahî, and made, as we have said, a grant of land in favour of two Brahmans.[5]

WAR WITH THE HÛṆAS.

Some time afterwards Sîyaka launched campaign against a Hûṇa prince whose territory seems to have

1 J. Dep. L., Vol X, pp. 40, 42.

2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 2.

3 Ibid., Vol. VII, P. 45.

4 Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 242, lines 9 and 13.

5 In the 10th century A. D., no king of the name of Yogarâja is known to have ruled in the western part of India, except the Câḷukya chief mentioned above. The earliest known date of this prince is 899 A. D. (E. I., Vol. IX, p. 2), and the latest known date of his immediate predecessor is 893 A. D. (Ibid., p. I.). I am inclined to think that it was this chief who sustained a defeat at the hand of Sîyaka. If this proves to be true, he must have ruled for at least half a century, which is not at all an absurd length. The reigns of the Bengal king, Nârâyaṇapâla, (Bâṅglâr Itihâs, by R. D. Banerji, Vol. I, p. 225, (2nd ed.)) the Râṣṭrakûṭa Amoghavarṣa, (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 401 ff.) and the Caulukya Bhîma II, (Ibid., Pt. I, p. 197), each covered more than fifty years.

been to the north-west of Malwa.[1] Balavarman, father of Yogarâja of Saurâṣṭra, defeated and killed the Hûṇa prince Jajjapa in battle.[2] The Navasâhasâṅka-carita tells us that Sîyaka, having slaughtered the Hûṇa princes, turned their harem into a dwelling-place for the widows.[3] The Hûṇa prince who was defeated by him seems to have been a successor of Jajjapa. The war with the Hûṇas, however, did not come to a close until the end of the tenth century A. D.

WAR WITH THE CANDELLAS.

About this time the Candellas of Jejâkabhukti extended their territory up to Bhilsa on the west. The Khajuraho inscription, dated 954 A. D., registers[4] the fact that at this time the Candella kingdom extended as far as Bhâsvat (Bhilsa), which was situated on the bank of the river Mâlava. Sîyaka's bid for fortune on the west seems to have soon involved him in a war with the Candellas. But his progress was successfully retarded by the latter. The Candella Yaśovarman (925-950 A. D.) is described in the Khajuraho inscription[5] as "a God of Death to the Mâlavas."

WAR WITH THE RÂṢṬRAKÛṬAS OF MÂNYAKHEṬA.

In the third quarter of the tenth century A. D., the dismemberment of the Pratihâra empire was all but complete. It was a transitional period in the history of

1 Navas°., Sarga XI, v. 90.
2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 8, v. 17.
3 Akaṅkanam akeyûram anûpuram amekhalam |
Hûṇâvarodhaṃ vaidhavya-dîkṣâ-dânaṃ vyadhatta yaḥ ||
(Sarga XI, v. 90)
4 E. I., Vol. I, p. 134, v. 45.
5 Ibid., p. 126, v. 23-Kâlavan Mâlavânâṃ.

ancient India. The old ruling dynasties were fast declining in power, and making room for others to come forward and to play the imperial rôle. We have noticed the change in attitude of the Candella government. The Kacchapaghâtas firmly established themselves in Gwalior and Dubkund, on the north of Malwa.[1] A Caulukya family under Mûlarâja I, having overthrown the old Câvaḍa government, established its sovereignty at Anhilwar (modern Patan, in Baroda).[2] In the south, the influence of the Râṣṭrakûṭa power was on the wane, and as it were waiting for the final day of its destruction. The critical consideration of this political situation led Sîyaka to try his strength in the south. His assumption of the titles of Mahârâjâdhirâjapati and Mahâmṇḍalika cuḍâmaṇi suggests that he, shortly after his accession to the throne, was trying to disown the suzerainty of the Râṣṭrakûṭas. Now he gave up all projects for renewing hostilities on the north, east, and west, and directed his arms for the first time against the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire. In this bold enterprise he was assisted by his feudatory Kaṅka of Vâgaḍa. The Râṣṭrakûṭa Khoṭṭiga (971 A. D.), who was the brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa III (945-956 A. D.), was at that time on the throne of the Deccan.[3] He hurried his army towards Malwah in order to oppose the Paramâras. A fierce battle took place on the bank of the Narmada, at a place called Kalighaṭṭa,[4] in which Kaṅka died fighting bravely, though not before he had broken down the barrier of the Râṣṭrakûṭa army.[5] Khoṭṭiga sustained a heavy defeat in this encounter, and retreated to his capital. But Sîyaka

1 E. I., Vol. II, p. 232; I. A., Vol. XV, p. 202.
2 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 157.
3 Ibid., Pt. II, p. 422.
4 A. S. I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19.
5 E. I., Vol XIV, p. 296; A. S. I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19.

seems to have been bent on conquering the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire. He pursued the vanquished monarch and reached the gates of Mânyakheṭa. Khoṭṭiga could not repel the invading forces of Malwa, and surrendered his capital to their mercy. The city was apparently sacked by the victors. Dhanapâla, in the concluding verses of his Pâiyalacchî, states that he completed this work[1] "when one thousand years of the Vikrama era and twenty-nine besides had passed, and at the time when Mânyakheḍa (or Mânyakheṭa) was plundered in consequence of an attack by the lord of Mâlava."

The date expressed here in the Vikrama era corresponds to 971-2 A. D. It has been noticed that at this time Khoṭṭiga was on the throne of Mânyakheṭa. The Malwa king referred to above was, in all probability, Sîyaka, as the Udayapur Praśasti makes mention of his victory over Khoṭṭiga.[2] The Navasâhasâṅka-carita[3] records his success over the lord of Ruḍapâṭî, whom I am inclined to identify with this king of the Râṣṭrakûṭas. But though the historic city of Mânyakheṭa was occupied and pillaged by the armies of Sîyaka, they could not conquer its main fort, where the royal residence was fixed. It was successfully defended by the western Gaṅga Mârasiṃha II. The Sravana Belgola epitaph states that[4] "He (*i. e.*

1 Edited by Buhler : Pâiyalacchî, Introduction, p. 6, vs. 276, 277, 278.

2 Tasmâd abhûd ari-nareśvara-saṃgha-sevanâ-garjjad
-gajeṃdra-rava-suṃdara-tûrya-nâdaḥ. |
Śrî-Harṣa-deva iti Khoṭṭigadeva-Lakṣmîṃ jagrâha yo
yudhi nagâda-sama-pratâpaḥ ||
(E. I., Vol. I, p. 237, v. 12.)

3 Smita-jyotsnâ-daridreṇa vâṣpâḍhyena mukhendunâ |
Śaśaṃsur vijayaṃ yasya Ruḍapâṭî-pati-strivaḥ ||
(sarga XI, v, 89, Navas°).

4 E. I., Vol. V, p. 179.

Mârasimha II) by the strength of his arms (protected) the encampment of the emperor, when it was located at the city of Mânyakheṭa."

This Gaṅga prince was a contemporary of both Sîyaka and Khoṭṭiga, as he began his reign in 963-4 A.D., and ended it between 973-4 A. D.[1] Some scholars are of the opinion that the passage in question of the above record may be taken to refer to the struggle that took place between the Râṣṭrakûṭa Kakka II and Tailapa II, the founder of the new Câḷukya empire in the Deccan.[2] But this view loses much of its strength if the whole situation is taken into consideration. It is an evident fact that Tailapa's victory was immediately followed by the final extinction of the Râṣṭrakûṭa sovereignty and the establishment of a new Câḷukya empire in the Deccan. In view of this, Sîyaka's success cannot be regarded as more than temporary. Hence Mârasimha's boast of protecting the encampment of Mânyakheṭa gains much more justification, if it relates to the conflict between Sîyaka and Khoṭṭiga.

A critical review of all these courses of events brings home to us the fact that the Paramâras were mainly instrumental in working out the destruction of the mighty Râṣṭrakûṭa empire. They inflicted a crushing defeat upon Khoṭṭiga on the banks of the Narmada, overran his kingdom, and finally pillaged and sacked the imperial city of Mânyakheṭa. This undoubtedly pressed heavily upon the military resources of the Râṣṭrakûṭas, which made it easier for Tailapa II to gain the throne of the Deccan by the annihilation of their power. At present, it is very difficult to determine precisely how much Sîyaka profited by his

1 E. I., Vol. V, p. 179.

2 Ibid., p. 170, footnote 3.

southern expedition. During the reign of his son Vâkpati and of his grand-son Bhoja, the upper courses of the Godavari formed the southern boundary of the Paramâra kingdom.[1] It is highly probable that the extension of the Paramâra kingdom up to that limit was due to Sîyaka.

Sîyaka was the real founder of the Paramâra kingdom, and the first imperial ruler of his family. From the position of a petty local chief, he succeeded by his ingenuity and military skill in occupying a place among the foremost rulers of his age. He left behind him a vast empire which extended on the north up to the Banswara State ;[2] on the east to Bhilsa ;[3] on the south to the Godavari ; and on the west up to the Mahi.[4] Shortly after his return from the southern expedition, he seems to have abdicated his throne in favour of his son Vâkpatirâja. Padmagupta tells us that in the latter part of his reign the king adopted the life of an ascetic, "clothed himself in the grass-robe of a royal sage," and devoted himself exclusively to the practice of austerities.[5] Vaḍajâ was the name of his queen.[6] Besides Vâkpati he had another son, Sindhurâja. He closed his reign some time between the years 970 and 973 A. D.

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1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 33 ; E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 69.

2 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 295

3 This is inferred from the Khajuraho inscription (E. I., Vol. I, p. 134, v. 45), which tells us that in the year 954 A. D., Bhâsvat, or Bhilsa, on the bank of the river of Mâlava was the southern limit of the Candella kingdom.

4 E. I., Vol. XIX, p, 236.

5 Vaśîkṛtâkṣamâlo yaḥ kṣamâm atyâyatâm dadhan ।
Râjâśramam alaṃcakre râjarṣiḥ kuśa-cîvaraḥ ॥
(Navas.°, Sarga XI, v. 88.)

6 Ibid., v. 86.

CHAPTER III.

VÂKPATI II AND SINDHURÂJA

VÂKPATI II.

Two inscriptions of Vâkpati's reign have been discovered.

The first [1] is dated V. S. 1031 = 974 A. D., and was issued from the royal residence at Ujjain. There was a Brahman philosopher named Vasantâcârya, son of Dhanikapaṇḍita, who was originally an inhabitant of Ahicchatra. King Vâkpatirâja, who is described as paramabhaṭṭâraka mahârâjâdhirâja, having bathed in the waters of the Śiva lake, and worshipped the Lord of Everything, granted this Brahman philosopher the Taḍâr [2] by name Pipparikâ for the spiritual merit of his parents as well as of himself. The village was situated on the bank of the Narmada, in the northern part of the bhoga of Gardabhapânîya. It was bounded on the north by a small stream flowing into the ditch belonging to Cikhillikâ; on the east by Agâravâhalâ; on the south by the Piśâca-tîrtha, and on the west by the Gardabha river. The record was executed by Kaṇhapaika, who is probably the same person as is mentioned in the grant of Sîyaka, dated 969 A. D. [3]

The second inscription [4] is dated V. S. 1036 = 979 A. D. It was issued from the royal camp at Bhagavatpura, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Its object is to record that the king Vâkpatirâja, at the request

1 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 51.
2 Dr. Hall reads this as Vaḍâr.
3 E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 236.
4 I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 160.

of Âsinî, the wife of his Mahâsâdhanika Mahâika, granted the village of Sembalapuraka, attached to the Tiṇisapadra-Twelve, with all the incomes accruing to it, to meet the expenses of the worship of the Bhaṭṭârikâ, the glorious Bhaṭṭeśvarî at Ujjayanî, and for the upkeep of her temple. The village, granted, was at that time held by the above mentioned Mahâika. The inscription was written in the camp of Guṇapura, and the order was executed by Rudrâditya.

Of the places mentioned above, Ahicchatra is to be identified with the modern Adikot near Ramnagar in Rohilkhand. Cikhillikâ is the modern Chikalda, now a tract of land in the territory of Holkar. The Piśâcatîrtha retains to this day its ancient name. Mr. N. Janardana identifies the Gardabha river with the modern Khaja, now in the jurisdiction of the Raja of Dhar. [1] Guṇapura is probably the modern Godurpura, on the south bank of the Narmada. The rest of the localities cannot now be identified.

Mr. Venkayya suggests that Vâkpatirâja mentioned in the Puṣkar inscription was probably the same person as Vâkpati-Muñja [2].

Vâkpati bore the appellations of Śrîvallabha and Pṛthvîvallabha, [3] which were the family epithets (birudas) of the imperial Râṣṭrakûṭas of the Deccan. [4] Amogha-varṣa, [5] Utpala, and Muñja were his other names. In the Nagpur praśasti [6] he is described as Muñja, and in the rest of the inscriptions of his dynasty he is mentioned as

1 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 50.
2 A. S. I., 1909-10, p. 127.
3 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 51 ; Vol. XIV, p. 160.
4 E. I., Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 2.
5 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 51.
6 E. I., Vol. II, p. 184, v. 23.

Vâkpati. That Vâkpati and Muñja were names of one and the same king admits of no doubt. King Arjunavarman, in his commentary on Amaruśataka, known as Rasikasaṃjîvinî, states that Vâkpatirâja, otherwise known as Muñja, was one of his predecessors.[1] Similarly, there is ample evidence to prove his identity with the king Utpala. In the Navasâhasâṅka-carita, in one place Vâkpati is spoken of as the elder brother of Sindhurâja, who followed him (on the throne) after his death.[2] But in another place,[3] where the history of the early Paramâra kings of Malwa is narrated, Sindhurâja is reported to have mounted the throne of Utpalarâja. Here the absolute omission of the name, Vâkpatirâja, by the poet proves the identity of the two. This is further confirmed by the fact that the authorship of a verse ascribed to Utpalarâja by the Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra is attributed to Vâkpatirâja by Vallabhadeva.[4]

Merutuṅga tells an interesting story[5] in connection with the birth and early life of Vâkpati. Siṃhadanta-bhaṭa (*i.e.* Sîyaka) was for a long time without any child. Muñja was not, as a matter of fact, his own son. Once while the king was on his royal circuit, he came across a new-born child in a thicket of *muñja* grass, whom he immediately picked up lovingly in his arms. He brought him up and intended to make him his successor. The child was given the name Muñja, in memory of his discovery in the grass of that name. Some time later a son was born to the king, who was called Sindhula (*i. e.* Sindhurâja). This unexpected event,

1 "Asmatpûrvajasya Vâkpatirâj-âparanâmno Muñjadevasya."
2 Sarga I, vv. 6-7
3 Sarga XI, vv. 92, 101.
4 Subhâṣitâvali, 3413.
5 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 30.

however, did not shake the king's affection for Muñja, who made a great impression on his mind by his princely qualities Once he paid a surprise visit to the residence of Muñja, when the latter was in his bedchamber with his wife. The unexpected arrival of the king threw Muñja into confusion. He had no opportunity to get his wife out of the room, and in his excessive shyness he hid her behind a sofa to avoid the notice of the king, who came straight into the room, and told him at once the object of his visit. He related the whole story of his birth and adoption, and spoke of his present desire to make him finally his successor to the throne. Last of all he emphasised his wish that Muñja should be friendly and affectionate towards his younger brother, Sindhurâja, and then left the palace. Shortly afterwards the coronation-ceremony of Muñja was celebrated amidst great joy and festivity. It is said that subsequently Muñja put his wife to death, lest she should carelessly betray the secret of his birth.

At present we have no evidence to corroborate the above story. It may be that Sîyaka, finding himself childless in the early years of his life, adopted Muñja as heir to his throne, and confirmed the arrangement even when some time after a son was born to him.

With the accession of Vâkpati, a new era dawned upon Malwa. A new spirit breathed through every sphere of life, and the country began to grow in wealth and riches. The consolidation of the empire was complete, and the government was based on a strong foundation. Henceforward the Paramâra kings did not limit their activities merely to the undertaking of military expeditions for conquest, but also directed their attention to the cultural development and social welfare of their subjects. It will be seen below how, under powerful monarchy, the people of Malwa grew

into a strong nation. Rudrâditya was the king's minister,[1] and Mahâika,[2] and the poet Dhanika[3] were respectively Mahâsâdhanika and Mahâsâdhyapâla of his government.

Having ascended the throne of Malwa, Vâkpati seems to have directed his energy, in the first place, to the expansion of his kingdom. His territory was surrounded by a number of powerful ruling dynasties. He now launched a series of campaigns against them.

WAR WITH THE KALACURIS.

The crowning achievement of Vâkpati was his victory over the Kalacuris who ruled over the northern part of the Central Provinces. The seat of their government was established at Tripurî. Their king Yuvarâja II, who ruled from about 975 to 1000 A. D., was a contemporary of Vâkpati. His father Lakṣmaṇa entered into an alliance with Tailapa II by giving him his daughter Bonthâdevî in marriage.[4] He also increased the prosperity of his kingdom by successful military conquests. Having defeated the lord of Kosala, he despoiled him of a very costly effigy of Kâliya, and when in the course of his military expeditions he reached the western shore of the sea, he earned spiritual merit by dedicating that image in the temple of Someśvara.[5] Besides Yuvarâja II, he had another son, Śaṃkaragaṇa, who was his immediate successor on the throne, being later followed by Yuvarâja II. These two royal

1 Prabandhac°., p. 33.
2 I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 160.
3 H. H. Wilson, "Select Specimens of the Theater of the Hindus," 1835, p. XX.
4 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 296.
5 E. I., Vol. I, p. 266, v. 62.

brothers appear to have been lacking in that military skill which had distinguished their father. As regards Yuvarâja II, the panegyrists seem to delight in extolling only his religious activities, though some customary verses are offered to demonstrate his military achievements.[1]

It was when the Kalacuri government was in the hands of this weak ruler that Vâkpati marched against Cedi, and Yuvarâja, although he opposed him with all his armies, was signally defeated ; many of his officers were killed on the battlefield, and the whole of his kingdom lay prostrate before the Paramâras. Vâkpati next directed his victorious troops towards Tripurî, the capital of the Kalacuris, and within a short time captured that city. The Udayapur praśasti tells us that Vâkpati defeated Yuvarâja in battle, slaughtered his generals, and established his supremacy in Tripurî.[2] This is corroborated in general by the Kauthem grant[3] of the Câḷukya Vikramâditya V, in which it is stated that Utpala destroyed the power of the Caidyas, *i. e.* the people of Cedi.

WARS WITH THE GUHILAS AND THE CÂHAMÂNAS.

Vâkpati's achievements in the north were also epoch-making. The Guhilas of Medâpaṭa, or Mewar, were the first object of his attack in that direction. In the last quarter of the tenth century A. D., they were governed by their king Saktikumâra (977 A. D.), who was the son

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 269.

2 Yuvarâjaṃ vijityâjau hatvâ tad-vâhinî-patîn |
Khaḍgam ûrdhvîkṛtaṃ yena Tripuryâm vijigîṣuṇâ ||
(E. I., Vol. I, p. 235., v. 15.)

3 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42.

and successor of Naravâhana.[1] Vâkpati probably came into conflict with this prince, and inflicted a severe defeat upon him. He destroyed his elephant forces, plundered Âghâṭa (modern Ahar, near the Udaipur Railway Station), the capital of Mewar, and forced him to flee from his kingdom. In this predicament the Guhila prince, having been deprived of his throne, took shelter under the Râṣṭrakûṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍî.[2] This success tempted Vâkpati to push his arms further west, and soon brought him into conflict with the Câhamânas of Marwar. The Câhamânas, under the rule of their king Śobhita, had extended the boundaries of their kingdom up to Mount Abu,[3] by the forcible extirpation of its ruling chief.[4] About this time Śobhita's successor, Balirâja, was on the throne of Marwar. Vâkpati seems

1 E. I., Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 13.

2 Dha(va)lo vasudhâ-vyâpî caṃdrâd iva caṃdrikâ-nikaraḥ || bhaṃktv-Âghâṭaṃ ghaṭâbhiḥ prakaṭam iva madaṃ Medapâṭe bhaṭânâṃ janye râjanya-janye janayati janatâjaṃ raṇaṃ Muṃjarâje (Śrî)* mâṇe (pra)ṇaṣṭe hariṇa iva bhiyâ Gûrjjareśe vinaṣṭe tat-sainyânâṃ sa(śa)raṇyo harir iva śaraṇe yaḥ surâṇâṃ va(ba)bhûva ||

(Bijapur inscription of Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍî, vv. 9, 10. E. I., Vol. X, p. 20. (Bijapur lies on the route from Udaipur to Sirohi, near Mount Abu.)

3 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 75, v. 7.

4 In the Sevadi copper-plates of the Câhamâna Ratnapâla, dated Saṃ 1176, Śobhita or Śohita is designated as the lord of Dhârâ (E. I., Vol. XI, p. 309, v. 5). I think it is an engraver's mistake for "Thârâ", which was the most celebrated city in Marwar during the latter part of the 12th century A. D. Professor Kielhorn suggests that it was the capital of that country. The Moharâja-parâjaya, an allegorical play, was first acted at Thârâpadra-pura, during the reign of the Gujarat king Ajayapâla (1172-1176 A. D.).

first to have wrested from him Mount Abu [1] and the southern part of his dominion as far as Kiraḍu, which lies sixteen miles north-west of Balmer, in the Jodhpur State. The Kauthem grant of the Câḷukya Vikramâditya V records that, at the approach of Utpala, the people of Marwar trembled. [2] A stray verse of Padmagupta, probably composed shortly after the death of Vâkpati, tells us that the king's fame still caused the pearls to dance in the necklaces of the women of Marwar, where his servant got a strong footing. [3]

Vâkpati now divided this newly conquered territory among the princes of the royal family of Dhârâ. He established his son, Araṇyarâja, in the province of Arbuda or Abu, set up his other son, Candana, in Jalor, and entrusted to his nephew, Dûsala, the government of Bhinmal, whose authority extended up to Balmer on the west. [4] Having thus secured a strong footing, he seems

"Yad adya Maru-maṃḍala-Kamalâ-mukha-maṃḍana-karpûra-patr-âṃkura-Thârâpadrapura-pariṣkâra-Kumâra-vihâra-kroḍalaṃkâra-Śrî-vîra-Jineśvara-yâtrâ-mahotsava-prasaṃga-saṃgatam." (Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81, by Prof. Kielhorn, p. 33.)

1 There is no direct evidence to prove that Vâkpati ever conquered Mount Abu. But his conquests of Mewar and Marwar imply the conquest of Abu, which lies between them.

2 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42.

3 Tatra sthitaṃ sthitimatâ varadeva daivâd
bhṛtyena te cakita-cittam iyaṃtyahâni ।
Utkaṃpini stana-taṭe hariṇekṣaṇânâṃ
Hârân praṇarttayati yatra bhavat-pratâpaḥ ॥

"There (i. e. in Marwar), O good king (i. e. the king of Malwa), thy servant got a footing, as fate would have it, and there he remained so many days, curious at heart-there, where tey fame sets dancing the pearls on the quivering breasts of the deer-eyed women." (J. Bo. Br., Vol. XVI, p. 173.)

4 Ante, Chapter I, pp. 19 ff., *et vide* Chapters IX & X.

to have made an attempt to conquer Naddûla (Nadol), the capital of the Câhamânas. But his rival Balirâja showed himself equal to the occasion and successfully defended his territory. The Sundha hill inscription tells us that he dispersed the army of Muñja. [1] This defeat of the Paramâras must have taken place some time after 982 A. D., a date which falls in the reign of Balirâja's grandfather, Lakṣmaṇa. [2]

WAR WITH THE HÛṆAS.

About this period Vâkpati seems to have led an expedition against the Hûṇas and to have won a complete victory over them. The Kauthem grant tells us that Utpala destroyed the lives of the Hûṇas. [3]

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

Some time after his conquest of Southern Marwar, Vâkpati involved himself in a war with the Caulukyas of Gujarat. [4] The Caulukya Mûlarâja I, who ruled from 941 to 997 A. D., was his contemporary. [5] At the approach of the Paramâras, the Caulukya armies became terrified. Mûlarâja tried to oppose the advance of his enemies, but was miserably worsted in the resultant battle. Hard pressed by the victors, he fled with his

1 ....Balirâjadevo Yo Muṃjarâja-va(ba)la-bhaṃgam acîkarat taṃ......v. 7, E. I., Vol. IX, p. 75.

2 A. S. I., 1907-8, p. 228.

3 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42.

4 A verse of Padmagupta recounts that Vâkpati established his authority over Marwar before his fight with the Gurjaras. J. Bo. Br., Vol. XVI, p. 173 ; I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42.

5 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 156 ; I. A., Vol. LVIII, p. 234.

family into the desert of Marwar. His armies, bereft of a leader and guide, knowing not what to do, sought refuge with the Râṣṭrakûṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍî. The Bijapur inscription tells us that when the power of the lord of the Gûrjaras was shattered as the result of his terrible fight with the king Muñja, his armies sought protection from Dhavala, who immediately gave them adequate shelter.[1] Now Mûlarâja's miseries knew no bounds. He passed his days in extreme hardship without food or drink. The forlorn condition to which the Gurjjara king was reduced, is very touchingly described by Padmagupta in the following verses :

"He neither eats food nor drinks water ; he keeps not the society of women ; he lies on the sand, puts from him all worldly pleasures, and courts the hottest sun. O Lion of the House of Mâlava, it seems to me that this Gûrjjara king is doing penance in the forests of Marwar because he is eager to obtain an atom of that *prasâda* which is the dust of your feet."

"The silly Gûrjjara queen, as she wanders terror-stricken in the forest, ever and anon casts her eyes on her husband's sword, to see if there be no water there, for often in the past she has heard the bards say 'Great

1 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42. Vâkpati died some time before 997 A. D. Hence the Gurjara king mentioned in this verse was, in all probability, Mûlarâja I, who ruled from 941 to 997 A. D. The latest known inscription of his reign is dated 995 A. D. (E. I., Vol. X, p. 76.)

The expression "Gûrjjareśe vinaṣṭe" referred to in the same verse must be taken to mean "the power of the lord of the Gûrjjaras having been destroyed." It should not be considered as referring to the death of Mûlarâja I, who is reported to have been killed by the Câhamâna Vigraharâja of Śâkambharî. (Hammîramahâkâvya. I. A., Vol. VIII. p. 59.)

King, the hosts of your foes have been engulfed in the battle stirred up by your sword's edge (or torrent)."[1]

WAR AGAINST LÂṬA.

The conquest of Northern Gujarat offered a fresh inducement to Vâkpati to continue his military policy in the west. He seems next to have turned his arms against the Lâṭa country, which comprised the land between the rivers Mahi aud Tapti. Bârappa, a member of the Cauḷukya race and the general of the Karṇâṭa king Tailapa II, was at that time its ruler.[2] Vâkpati

1 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XVI, pp. 173, 174.

(i) âhâraṃ na karoti nâṃbu pibati straiṇaṃ na saṃsevate
śete yat sikatâsu mukta-viṣayaś caṃḍâtapaṃ sevate ।
Tvat-pâd-âbja-rajaḥ-prasâda-kaṇikâ-lâbhonmukhas tanmarau
manye Mâlava-siṃha Gûrjara-patis-tîvraṃ tapas tapyate. ॥

(ii) magnâni dviṣatâṃ kulâni samare tvat-khaḍga-dhârâkule
nâthâsminn-iti baṃdivâci bahuśo deva śrutâyâṃ purâ ।
mugdhâ Gûrjara-bhûmipâla-mahiṣî pratyâśayâ pâthasaḥ
kâṃtâre cakitâ vimuṃcati muhuḥ patyuḥ kṛpâṇe dṛśau. ॥

(There seems to be a pun on Dhârâ in the above verse.)

These verses of Parimala are quoted by the Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra in his "Aucityâlaṃkâra". As has been noticed very often, Padmagupta, whose other name was Parimala, was a court poet of Vâkpati and his immediate successor Sindhurâja (Navas°., Sarga I, vv. 6, 7). The poet in the above verses, as quoted by Kṣemendra, intends to glorify the achievements of a Malwa king, who established his authority in Marwar and who was dead at the time when these verses were composed. Only Vâkpati is known to have carried his victorious arms into Marwar. Having been pressed hard by his forces, Mûlarâja and his armies fled into the north, and took refuge with Dhavala, whose territory lay just on the eastern border of Marwar. In these circumstances the Malwa king referred to in these stray verses of Parimala is, in all likelihood, Vâkpati.

2 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I., p. 159.

seems to have gone to war with him and to have won a decisive victory. The Udayapur praśasti records his victory over the people of Lâṭa.[1]

These conquests made Vâkapati master for some time of an extensive territory which comprised the Kalacuri kingdom on the east, Gujarat and Lâṭa on the west, and Mewar and southern Marwar on the north. But none of these newly conquered provinces, except southern Marwar, remained long under the control of the Paramâras. The Caulukyas and the Kalacuris regained their territories within a very short time, and ruled them quite independently. The cause of Vâkpati's failure to establish his paramount sovereignty over them is not very far to seek. He required a large army and resources to maintain his authority over them, but he could not meet these demands, as he had to array all his forces on the southern frontier of his kingdom to keep in check the progress of the newly established Câḷukya government.

The Udayapur praśasti[2] relates Vâkpati's victory over the Coḷas and the Keralas. The contemporary Coḷa kings were Madhurântaka-Uttamacoḷa (969-985 A. D.) and Râjarâja I (985-1012 A. D.).[3] Nothing is known as to the name of the prince who was on the throne of the Cera country about this time.

WAR WITH THE CÂḶUKYAS OF KARṆÂṬA.

The final overthrow of the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire in the Deccan was almost co-eval with the accession of

1 Karṇâṭa-Lâṭa-Kerala-Coḷa-śiro-ratna-râgi-pada-kamalaḥ ।
yaś ca praṇayi-gaṇârthita-dâtâ kalpadrumaprakhyaḥ ॥
(E. I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 14.)

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., Vol. VIII, App II, p. 22.

Vâkpati to the throne of Malwa. It has been noticed in the previous chapter, that the Râṣṭrakûṭa Khoṭṭiga succeeded with the help of Mârasiṃha, in driving Sîyaka and his armies from Mânyakheṭa. But the Râṣṭrakûṭas had hardly managed to recover from their losses before another formidable enemy, probably more terrible than the Paramâras, invaded the plains of the Deccan and threatened to overthrow their imperial government. The leader of these invading forces was Tailapa II, of the Câḷukya race, of whom mention has occasionally been made before. Khoṭṭiga's successor, Karkarâja, could not stem the tide of this invasion, and eventually surrendered to him his capital and kingdom. After this there was a scramble for the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire between the Paramâras and the Câḷukyas. In fact, it was quite impossible for Tailapa to establish a permanent sovereignty in the Deccan until he could destroy the power of the ambitious Paramâras. This led to the beginning of a hard struggle for supremacy which continued for many generations between the two neighbouring dynasties. In one of his early attempts Vâkpati was routed by the armies of Tailapa. The Nilgund inscription[1] of Tailapa's reign, dated Śaka 904 = 982 A. D., records that, "on hearing the name of whom (Tailapa II), which he acquired by the extirpation of all the armies of hostile kings, Coḍas, Andhras, Pâṇḍyas and the king Utpala, bewildered, deliberate what to do, where to go, and where to dwell."

1 Yasya śrutvâbhidhânaṃ sakala-ripu-nṛpânika-nirmmûlanotthaṃ kiṃ (ka)rttavyaṃ kva yâma(ḥ) kva ca vasatir iti vvyâkulâś cintayanti

Coḍândhrâdhîśa-Pâṇḍy-Otpala mahipatayo yena câṃbhodhi-sîmâ kṣmâ râmâ svîkṛtâ yohasati nṛpa-guṇair. âdirâjan Nalâdîn ||

(E. I., Vol. IV, p. 206, lines 7, 8, 9)

The king Utpala referred to here, was none other than Vâkpati. Besides this particular invasion, he seems to have launched several more campaigns against the Deccan, and in most cases to have achieved successful results. Merutuṅga tells us that, before the final termination of the war, Muñja defeated Tailapa six times.[1] The Udayapur praśasti also records his victory over the Karṇâṭa army.[2] But all these preliminary victories gained by him, could not break down the strength of the Câḷukyas. Now the glorious period of his reign had passed and the day of his fall was fast approaching. The sun which rose with a thousand beams in the east, now became pale just before its setting. In the last battle the glorious Muñja, a king of unprecedented valour, fell a captive in the hands of Tailapa, and having passed his days in endless miseries, suffered execution in the camp of his enemy. The tale of his extreme sufferings, which tradition handed on through the years to succeeding generations, at last excited emotion and pity in the heart of the Jaina teacher, Merutuṅga, who flourished in the 13th century A. D., and found appropriate expression in his 'Muñja-Prabandha'. He narrates that Muñja, being constantly harassed by the raiders of Tailapa, determined to invade his kingdom. His minister, Rudrâditya, who was then suffering from some ailment, tried to dissuade him from his proposed undertaking, but finding him sternly set upon his purpose, requested him not to cross the Godavari. In this connection he reminded the king of an old saying which predicted misfortune to any Malwa king who should ever cross that river in the course of a military excursion.

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 33.

2 Ante p. 56, footnote 1.

His repeated success in warfare made Muñja over-confident of victory on this occasion also. He paid no heed to the good advice of his minister, and having marched a long way at last pitched his camp on the other side of the Godavari. When Rudrâditya heard that the king had thus deliberately flown in the face of his counsel, he ascended his funeral pyre, preferring death to the shock of seeing the frightful calamity he felt to be awaiting his beloved master. Shortly afterwards Muñja confronted his enemies, and a fierce battle ensued. But his destiny was sealed, and he paid the penalty for rejecting the warning of his far-sighted minister, by defeat and capture at the hands of Tailapa, who had gained his success by fraudulent methods.

Now his sufferings knew no bounds. He was tied with a rope, confined in a wooden cage, and thrown into the prison of Karṇâṭa. His other ministers, who had arrived subsequently, dug a secret tunnel and made all arrangements for his escape ; but, owing to his foolishness and indiscretion, their efforts on his behalf completely failed. During the short period of his incarceration, he fell in love with Mṛṇâlavatî, a sister of Tailapa, who was detailed to attend him in prison, and to her he disclosed the arrangements made by his officers for his escape, requesting her to follow him to his own country. But the lady betrayed the trust confided in her and reported the matter to her brother, the king. This made Tailapa more revengeful and heartless than before. He ordered his servants to bind the captive king with cords and to lead him from door to door to beg his daily meal. Thus, having been reduced to an object of scorn, the Paramâra king, who once held sway over a vast tract of land, walked through the streets of his enemy's city with a begging bowl in his hand. The endless sorrows of his heart poured through the silent tears of his eyes and

often in the form of deep sighs. In his extreme agony Muñja bewailed his lot and at intervals cried aloud—

"I have lost my elephants and chariots. I have lost my horses; I have lost my footmen, servants have I none.

"So, Rudrâditya, sitting in heaven, invite me, eager to join you."

On another occasion, while begging, he thus addressed a woman who had jeered at his miserable plight.

"Foolish fair one, do not show pride, though you see me with a little pot in my hand.

"Muñja has lost fourteen hundred and seventy-six elephants.

"Do not be distressed, O Monkey, that I was ruined by her;

"Who has not been ruined by women, Râma, Râvaṇa, Muñja and others?"

"Do not weep, O my jailor, that I should have been made to wander by her,

"Only by casting a sidelong glance, much more when she drew me by the hand.

"If I had had at first that discretion which was produced too late,

"Says Muñja, O Mṛṇâlavatî, no one would have cast an obstacle in my path.

"Muñja, that treasury of glory, lord of elephants, king of the land of Avanti.

"That creature who was long ago produced as the dwelling-place of Sarasvatî,

"He has been captured by the lord of Karṇâṭa, owing to the wisdom of his ministers,

"And has been impaled on a stake: alas! perplexing are the results of Karma." [1]

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 34, 35.

The officers of the Câḷukya king, thus leading Muñja through the streets for a long time, at last brought him to the place of execution. They severed his head from his body, moistened it with thick sour milk, and fixed it on a stake in the courtyard of the royal palace.

In this way Tailapa wreaked his vengeance upon his stubborn enemy, and Muñja was relieved of his untold miseries.

Merutuṅga's version of Vâkpati's overthrow and execution, which we have just given, is corroborated in its main details by the epigraphic account of the Câḷukyas. The Kauthem grant of Vikramâditya V[1] records that Utpala was cast into prison by his grandfather, Tailapa. The Gadag inscription[2] of Vikramâ-ditya VI boasts that the valiant Muñja was slain by that monarch's remote predecessor, Tailapa II. The Â'în-i-Akbarî also corroborates this assertion by stating that Muñja lost his life in the wars of the Deccan.[3]

In this fight with the Paramâras, Tailapa was probably helped by his feudatory Bhillama II, who ruled in Southern Khandesh, on the border of the Paramâra kingdom.[4] The Sangamner copper plate of this Yâdava chief states that he crushed the military force of the great king Muñja and "thereby made the

1 Hûṇa-prâṇa-hara-pratâpa-dahano yâtrâ-trasan-Mâravaś Caidya-cchedy akhila-kṣamâ-jaya-naya-vyutpannâ-dhîr Utpalaḥ
Yenâtyugra-raṇâgra-darśita-va (ba) la-prâcuryya -śauryodayaḥ kârâgâra-nivesitaḥ kavi-vṛṣâ yaṃ varṇnayan ghûrṇṇi (rṇṇa) te. etc
(I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-43)

2 E. I., Vol. XV, p. 350, v. 2.

3 P. 276. Jarrett.

4 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 513; cf. E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 69.

goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the home of the illustrious Raṇaraṅgabhîma.[1]"

Bhillama's father Vaṇḍiga was a feudatory of the Râṣṭrakûṭa Kṛṣṇarâja.[2] It is very likely that after the fall of the Râṣṭrakûṭas this Yâdava family transferred its allegiance to the new Câḷukya government. Tailapa II, Muñja's adversary, had the appellation of Âhavamalla, which is almost synonymous with Raṇaraṅgabhîma. Taking all these things into consideration, Professor Kielhorn identifies Raṇaraṅgabhîma with Tailapa II. Dr. Barnett does not support this view, but, if Professor Kielhorn is right, the above verse of the Sangamner plate is significant in as much as it makes clear the fact that Vâkpati was the main obstacle in the way of Tailapa's founding a Câḷukya empire in the Deccan, and his subsequent defeat and death alone made it possible for the latter to establish a permanent sovereignty. In this circumstance it is not quite impossible that Vâkpati who had persistently troubled the Câḷukya king for more than twenty years, fell a victim to the vengeance of the latter in the manner described by Merutuṅga.

Amitagati completed his Subhâṣitaratnasaṃdoha in V. S. 1050 = 993 A. D., when Muñja was on the throne of Malwa.[3] Tailapa II, the destroyer of Muñja, died shortly before 998 A. D.[4] Hence the execution of the Paramâra king must have taken place between these two dates.

1 (Sve) nârâti-karâla-kâla-ra(ca)nâ-caṇḍâ(si)-daṇḍena yo hatvâ Muṃja-mahâ-nṛpa praṇayinîṃ saṃgrâma-raṃgâṃgaṇe lakṣmîm amvu (mbu) dhi-mekhalâ-valayita-(kṣmâ) varttinîm prâpayad bhûpa-śrî-Raṇaraṃgabhîma-bhavana sâkṣât-kula-strî-vratam || (E. I., Vol. II, p. 218, lines 40-42).

2 Bom. Gaz,, Vol. I, Part II, p. 512-13.

3 Z. D. M. G., Vols. 59 & 61 ; Kâvyamâlâ series, No. 82, ed. by Bhavadatta Śâstrî & Parab, Bombay, 1903.

4 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 432.

Vâkpati's great ambition for military conquest did not make him unmindful of the internal development of his kingdom. He was himself a great poet, and granted without stint enormous bounties to those who devoted their lives to literary work. By his liberal patronage, unvarying devotion to the goddess of learning, and rich contributions, he brought about a renaissance of Sanskrit literature in Malwa. Padmagupta was his chief court-poet[1]; Dhanañjaya, Bhaṭṭa Halâyudha, Dhanika, Dhanapâla, Śobhana, and other poets[2] flourished under his beneficent patronage.

He excavated many beautiful tanks in Malwa, one of which, situated at Dhârâ, is still called after his name *Muñjasâgara*. He is also said to have built many temples and embankments at Ujjain, Maheshwar, Onker-Mândhâtâ and Dharmapuri.

Vâkpati was a paternal ruler whose efficient administration greatly endeared him to his subjects. As a warrior, as a poet, and as an architect, he far excelled many of his contemporaries. By his successful achievements in various walks of life, he enhanced the name and fame of his family and illumined the country over which he ruled. His commanding personality and mighty valour won high laurels for him. The strength of his powerful armies humbled the pride of the peoples of Cedi, Lâṭa, Marwar, Gujarat, and Mewar. Merutuṅga states that Tailapa II won his victory over this Paramâra king by fraudulent methods and not by the superiority of his military power. In these circumstances Vâkpati's failure in the south does not in any way prejudice his fame as a gallant soldier and good general. His death was a real loss to his kingdom. It was deeply felt by

1 Navasâhasâṅka-carita, Sarga I, v. 6.

2 Vide Chapter VIII.

his subjects whose lamentations seem to be voiced in the following lines of Padmagupta.—

"O hill of the river of Love,
O crest-jewel of kings,
O store of the ambrosia of goodness,
O milky ocean of wit,
O lover of Ujjayinî,
O thou who wert a manifest God of Love to young women,
O kinsman of the good, Moon of the arts, where,
O king, art thou gone ? Wait for me"[1]

SINDHURÂJA.

Though Vâkpati had two sons, Araṇyarâja[2] and Candana,[3] who were appointed governors of Mount Abu and Jalor respectively, the succession to the throne fell to his younger brother Sindhurâja. This was probably done in pursuance of the arrangement made by Sîyaka II just before his abdication. The Prabandhas[4] tell us that Bhoja was the immediate successor of Muñja, and deny the intervention of Sindhurâja as a ruler between them. In this connection they narrate a story to the effect that the two brothers Muñja and Sindhurâja were for a long time at enmity with each other and that the feud ended finally with the lifelong imprisonment of

1 Hâ sṛṃgâra-taraṃgiṇî kulagire hâ râja-cûḍâmaṇe
Hâ saujanya-sudhâ-nidhâna haha hâ vaidagdhya -dugdhodadhe ।
Hâ devOjjayinî-bhujaṃga yuvatî-pratyakṣa Kandarpa hâ
Hâ sad-bâṃdhava hâ kalâmṛtakara kvâsi pratîkṣasva naḥ ॥
(J. Bom. Br., Vol. XVI, p. 174.)

2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 11.

3 An unpublished inscription, vide post. Chapter X.

4 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 36.

the latter.[1] But the discovery of a large number of authentic documents prove the baselessness of this statement. At least five dynastic inscriptions stand to prove that Sindhurâja was the immediate successor of Vâkpati, and none of them gives the slightest hint of unfriendly relations between the two brothers. Padmagupta, in the Navasâhasâṅka-carita,[2] while concluding his remarks on Vâkpati, relates that "he (i. e. Vâkpati), when in course of time set out for the city of the husband of Ambikâ, laid the earth on the arm of this (Sindhurâja) which is marked by scars of the bowstring." On this Professor Buhler rightly remarks that,[3] "strictly interpreted, this sentence would mean that he made his brother 'Yuvarâja' (heir-apparent) on his deathbed, and solemnly appointed him his successor. But considering that we know Vâkpati's manner of death, this view is not admissible. But the passage may indicate that Sindhurâja had become 'Yuvarâja' some time before Vâkpati's fatal expedition."

Sindhurâja assumed the appellations of Kumâranârâyaṇa and Navasâhasâṅka. He is generally described by Padmagupta as Avantîśvara, Paramâra-mahîbhṛt, and Mâlavarâja.[4] Yaśobhaṭa, who was also known as Ramâṅgada, was his chief minister.

No inscription of Sindhurâja's reign has yet been discovered. Our main source of evidence is the Navasâhasâṅka-carita of Padmagupta. The object of this book is to record, in the form of a story, some of the

1 Forbes' Râs Mâlâ, Edited by H. G. Rawlinson, 1924, Vol. I, p. 85.

2 puraṃ kâla-kramât tena prasthiten Âmbikâ-pateḥ ।
maurvî-kiṇâṅkavaty asya pṛthvî doṣṇi-niveśitâ ॥
(Sarga XI, v. 98).

3 I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 165.

4 Navas°, Sarga I, vv. 6, 11, 102, 1, 15, 2, 51, 3, 19.

incidents leading to the marriage of the king with the Nâga princess, Saśiprabhâ. The narrative runs that, once upon a time, when the king Navasâhasâṅka, accompanied by his minister Ramâṅgada, was engaged on a hunting expedition on the Vindhya mountain, he saw at a distance a very beautiful spotted antelope, wearing a gold chain round its neck. The king, in order to secure it, shot an arrow at the animal which at once pierced it. The antelope speedily fled away with the arrow still sticking into its body. The king intended to follow it, but was dissuaded by his minister, who persuaded him to take sufficient rest for the day. Next morning, the king in the course of his fruitless pursuit after the wounded antelope, met with a swan carrying a string of pearls in its beak, on the bank of a lotus-pond. With a little effort he obtained possession of that necklace, inscribed on which he discovered the name Saśiprabhâ. This excited in him a strong desire for the acquaintance of the owner of the ornament.

Śaśiprabhâ was the daughter of the Nagâ prince Śaṅkhapâla, and she was very fond of wandering about on the Haraśaila, on the Malaya mountain, and on the Himâcala. This princess of surpassing beauty, in the course of one of her excursions on the spur of the Vindhya mountain known as Kusumâvacûla, had to stay on the sandbank of the Śaśâṅkasûti.[1] There, one day, she found her pet animal, the spotted antelope, wounded by an arrow which still remained embedded in its body, and on which was engraved the name "Navîna-sâhasâṅka Sindhurâja."[2] She reflected that the king who styled

1 *i. e.* the Narmadâ or Revâ.

2 Navîna-Sâhasâṅkasya kâmadevâkṛter ayam
Mâlavaika-mṛgâṅkasya Sindhurâjasya sâyakaḥ ||
(Navas°, Sarga VI. v. II).

himself a "new Sâhasâṅka" must be one of high rank and authority. She felt a strong desire to meet him, and this secret desire of her heart was made known to her attendants.

The Nâga maiden Pâṭalâ, a member of the princess's retinue, while searching in the mountain woods for the lost necklace of her mistress, which had been carried off by a swan, probably in mistake for a lotus-root, came upon the king and conducted him forthwith to Śaśiprabhâ. The princess instantly fell in love with him, and he with her.

But to his disappointment, the princess and her attendants were immediately carried away miraculously to the Nâga capital Bhogavatî, in the underworld. The king, enamoured as he was of the beauty of the princess, determined to secure her hand at any cost. In company with his minister, he appealed to the goddess Narmadâ for assistance in discovering the princess's where abouts, and the goddess told him that Śaśiprabhâ was the daughter of the Nâga king, Śaṅkhapâla, whose hereditary enemies were the demons (Asuras). The demon-king, Vajrâṅkuśa, had his capital at Ratnâvatî, which lay at a distance of 50 *gavyūti* from that place, *i. e.* from the bank of the Narmada. Śaṅkhapâla declared that he would give the hand of his daughter to the hero who should be able to secure the golden flower lying in the pond attached to the pleasure-house of the demon-king, and should present it, as an ornament for her ear. It was evident that no one could fulfil such a condition as that without first breaking the power of Vajrâṅkuśa.

Sindhurâja determined, at any rate, to undertake an expedition against the demon-king. The difficulties in the way, and the knowledge that many a king before him had met with signal failure in similar attempts, could not deter him from his enterprise. On this occasion

he was helped by the Vidyâdharas, under their prince Śaśikhaṇḍa, whose father was Śikhaṇḍaketu, and by the Nâgas under their general, Ratnacûḍa. The allied armies in the course of their onward march, first pitched their camp on the bank of the Trimârgagâ,[1] *i. e.* Gaṅgâ, and subsequently halted in a forest on the outskirts of Ratnâvatî.

On the refusal of Vajrâṅkuśa to hand over the lotus -flower in friendly fashion, Sindhurâja launched a terrible attack upon the demon armies. A fierce battle ensued, in which the minister Ramâṅgada lost his life at the hand of Viśvâṅkuśa, the son of the demon-king.[2] Sindhurâja, however, ultimately succeeded in defeating and killing Vajrâṅkuśa. He conquered his capital and readily took possession of the golden lotus.

Having entrusted the charge of the province to Ratnacûḍa, he then proceeded to Bhogavatî. The Nâga-king received him with great respect, and made him a valuable gift of a crystal "Śiva-liṅga," and his marriage with the princess Śaśiprabhâ was celebrated with great rejoicings and festivity.

This is the sum and substance of Padmagupta's Navasâhasâṅka-carita. In the first quarter of the 13th century A. D. the poet Madana wrote the Pârijâta-mañjari, the object of which was to represent in the form of a drama the course of events leading to the union of his patron king, Arjunavarman, with the Gurjara princess, Vijayaśrî. Though the whole plot is based on a myth, its historical background has now been proved by the discovery of a number of inscriptions.[3]

1 Navasâhasâṅka-carita, Sarga 14, v. 85; Gaṅgâ-varṇana, ibid., vv. 79-87.

2 Navas°, Sarga XVII, v. 60.

3 Vide Chapter VII.

As regards Navasâhasâṅka-carita, we have also sufficient reason to believe that it represents a solid historical fact in the garb of a romantic story. The poet expressly tells us that the object of his narrative is to record the life-story of Sindhurâja, which he has undertaken, not from motives of poetic pride, but at the command of his master.[1] That the book has something of an historical character, and is not purely fantastic panegyric, is further proved by the fact that the death of the minister Ramâṅgada at the hands of the demon-prince is mentioned in the narrative, though it could safely have been omitted without any material injury to the plot. Professor Bühler remarks[2] that "the story which Padmagupta relates in his Navasâhasâṅka-carita with the peculiar breadth of the Mahâkâvyas, has, without doubt, a historical background. Not only did the hero of the poem, king Sindhurâja, really exist, the other people too, who appear in the poem as Nâgas, Vidyâdharas, Asuras, etc., have played a part as comrades or enemies of the king. Meanwhile, it will be difficult to fix the true names and positions of the historical characters which appear in Padmagupta, and must be left to others."

I will now endeavour to trace the main historical outline upon which the plot is based.

1 (a) etad vinidra-kumuda-dyuti-padmaguptaḥ
Śrî-Sindhurâja-nṛpateś caritaṃ babandha
(Granthapraśasti, Verse I.)

(b) yac câpalaṃ kiṃ api mandadhiyâ mayaivam
âsûtritaṃ narapate Navasâhasâṅka ı
âjñaiva hetur iha te śayanî-kṛtogra
râjanya-mauli-kusumâ na kavitva-darpaḥ ıı
(Grantha-praśasti, v. 4.)

2 I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 154.

Having eliminated the apparent mythical portions, we get the following facts in the narrative on which to base our enquiry.

There was a Nâga king whose capital was at Bhogavatî; he was a contemporary of Sindhurâja, and he had a daughter named Śaśiprabhâ. The family to which the Nâga king belonged were devout worshippers of Śiva. The demons, whose territory was apparently quite close to that of the Nâgas, were hereditary enemies of the latter.

In ancient Indian literature, the demons (Asuras) represent the non-Aryan population. The capital of this particular branch of the non-Aryan tribe was at Ratnâvatî, which was situated four gavyûtis or about two hundred miles south of the Narmada, which Sindhurâja had to reach after crossing the "Trimârgagâ". This river is to be identified, in all probability, either with the Penganga or with the Wainganga, both of which are tributaries of the Godavari. It will be seen below that the poet very likely meant the latter. Though the actual name of the demon country is not mentioned, the king's name, Vajrâṅkuśa, suggests that the country was, in all likelihood, that known as Vajra. In ancient literature Vajranagara is mentioned as the name of the capital of a demon prince named Vajranâbha.[1] The Eastern Câḷukya Vijayâditya (A. D. 799-843) and his grandson Guṇaga-Vijayâditya (A. D. 844-888) bore the epithet "Tribhuvanâṅkuśa", which means "Elephant-goad of the three worlds."[2] The name of the demon prince who killed the minister Ramâṅgada was Viśvâṅkuśa, which with a slight difference conveys the same meaning as "Tribhuvanâṅkuśa". Following this, Vajrâṅkuśa

1 M. Williams Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 879.

2 I. A., Vol. XX, pp. 100-02.

might be taken to mean "The Elephant-goad of the country of Vajra." There was a large wood in this Vajra country, through which Sindhurâja had to pass before he finally entered its capital, Ratnâvatî. Ratnâvatî is described by the poet as a place full of gems.[1]

The ancient name of the modern Wairagarh, in the Chanda District, Central Provinces, was Vajra or Vajrâgaḍh.[2] It lies about two hundred miles south of the course of the Narmada where it leaves the eastern border of the Paramâra kingdom. It is separated from the western and northern tracts of the Central Provinces by the Wainganga. The usual route from Malwa to Vajra is crossed by this tributary just by the latter country. In early times Vajra was famous for its diamond mines.[3] In the Burhân-i-Ma'âṣir,[4] it is stated that in the year 1474 A. D., Sultân Muḥammad Shâh II, son of Sultân Humâyûn Shâh, ruler of the Bahmanî kingdom, being aware of the existence of a diamond mine in the district of Wairagarh, sent his general 'Âdil Khân to conquer it from its ruler Jatak Râya. On the approach of the Muhammadan army Jatak Râya submitted, and the Sultân enriched his treasury with the diamonds that were taken from this conquered province. The Â'în-i-Akbarî also speaks of a[5] diamond mine in Bîrâgaḍ (*i. e.* Vajrâgaḍh), which was under the dominion of the Mughal emperor, Akbar. In the Kuruspal stone inscription[6] the Nâga Someśvara (A. D. 1097) is described as the "diamond-piercer" (Vajra-bhedaka), from the fact

1 Navas°, Sarga XVII, v. 74.
2 E. I., Vol. X, p. 27.
3 A. S. I. (Cun.), Vol. VII, p. 129.
4 I. A., Vol. XXVIII, p. 286.
5 Jarrett, pp. 229-230.
6 E. I., Vol. X, p. 30, v. 10.

that he conquered the country of Vajra. There was also a big forest in that locality which contained a large number of wild elephants. Râjendra Coḷa I (1012-1042 A. D.) carried off many herds of elephants from Vairâgaram, which is the same as Vajrâgaḍh.[1]

As regards the ancient rulers of this country, the local tradition informs us that a line of Mâna or Mâni, apparently an aboriginal tribe, ruled there for a certain period of time. In the Settlement Report[2] of the Chanda District, within the jurisdiction of which Wairagarh is situated, Mr. Louis Smith states that the Gonds conquered this country about 870 A. D., prior to which it was under the sway of the Mâna princes. But this view has been refuted in the Chanda District Gazetteer of 1909, where it has been pointed out that the Gonds came into possession of that part of the country in the 13th or 14th century A. D. If this proves to be true, then, during the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries A. D., the country of Vajra and its neighbourhood were certainly under the dominion of the non-Aryan Mâna kings, who are admitted to have preceded the Gonds there. That Vajra formed a separate province under its own rulers about this period, admits of no doubt. The Ratanpur inscription[3] of the Kalacuri Jâjalladeva, dated 1114 A. D., tells us that the king received annual presents from the chiefs of the Maṇḍalas of Vairâgara and others.

Thus from all these facts we find that Padmagupta's description of the demon country corresponds in the main with that of the ancient territory of Vajra.

1 S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 127.
2 1869, p. 61.
3 E. I., Vol, I, p. 33.

On the south-eastern border of Vajra lies the modern Bastar state, which was under the sway of a Nâga dynasty in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries A. D.[1] The princes of this family designate themselves as 'lords of the eminent city of Bhogavatî.' They were devout worshippers of Śiva.[2] Our present stock of knowledge does not furnish us with the names of the princes who preceded the king Dhârâvarṣa of this family. He flourished in the middle of the 11th century A. D. The earliest known date of his son and successor, Someśvara, is Śaka 1019 = 1097 A. D.[3] These Nâga rulers were members of the Chinda family[4]; Cand Bardâi groups them among the thirty-six royal Râjput races. The relation between these Nâga chiefs and the rulers of Vajra was evidently inimical. The Kuruspal stone inscription[5] of the Nâga Someśvara states that the king conquered the country of Vajra and burnt its forest. Thus the circumstantial evidence would seem to suggest that this Nâga dynasty is indicated by the family of Śaṅkhapâla to which Padmagupta refers.

Padmagupta tells us that Sindhurâja was helped by the Vidyâdhara prince, Śaśikhaṇḍa. The Vidyâdharas are described in ancient literature as a class of demi-gods. Śaśikhaṇḍa was also the name of a mythical Vidyâdhara prince.

1 E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 160 ff. ; P. R. Ass. Arch. Supdt. for Epigraphy, S. circle, 1908-9, p. 111 ff.

2 Nâgavaṃśodbhava-Bhogavatî-puravareśvara. E. I., Vol. IX, p. 134 ; Vol. X, pp. 32, 35, 38.

3 Ibid., Vol. X, p. 37.

4 Pṛthvîrâja Râso, Canto I, p. 54. (Nâgaripracârinî Granthamâlâ).

5 (ma) Pura-bhadrapattanâhârya-vajram api Vajra-(bheda)-kaḥ | Vajra-saṃbhava-purâṭavîdavobhâti (so)mana (ma)-hîtale | V. 10, E. I., Vol. X, p. 30, line 19.

The Śilâhâras ruled in Konkan, which runs along the western coast of the Indian peninsula. They were divided into many branches,[1] of which the most northerly established its government at Sthânaka, the modern Thana.[2] It was formerly a feudatory of the Râṣṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa.[3] The Bhadana grant[4] of the Śilâhâra Aparâjita, dated 977 A. D., shows that the king, although he continued to bear the title of a subordinate chief, was not a vassal of the Câḷukyas of Kalyani. In their epigraphic records Śilâhâra princes trace their pedigree from the mythical king Jîmûtavâhana, who is mentioned in early literature as a king of the Vidyâdharas.[5] Aparâjita's grandson, Chittarâja (1026 A. D.), is referred to in his inscription[6] as one who was by nature a Vidyâdhara. Candaladevî or Candralekhâ, the queen of the Câḷukya Vikramâditya VI and the daughter of a Śilâhâra chief of Karâḍ, is mentioned by Bilhaṇa as a Vidyâdhara princess.[7] From all these it may be concluded that the Śilâhâras represented the mythical Vidyâdharas. In my opinion the Vidyâdharas, referred to by Padmagupta, were none other than these Śilâhâras. This is further confirmed by the fact that

1 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.
2 Ibid.
3 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 16, 404, 40, 406 ; Aparâjita assumed independent power about the year 997 A. D. ; ibid., p. 16.
4 E. I., vol. III, p. 273.
5 Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 265 ; Kathâsaritsâgara, Vol. X., p. 192. Transl. by Tawney.
6 E. I., Vol. XII, p. 263, line 18.
7 Vikramâṅkadeva-carita, Sarga VIII, v. 3, & IX, v. 27 ; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 499 ; E. I., Vol. XII, p. 266.

the poet locates the home of these people close to the sea.[1] No king of the name of Śaśikhaṇḍa is found in the genealogical table of the Śilâhâras. It may be that the poet has concealed the identity of a real prince under a mythical name. If my suggestion proves to be true, Śaśikhaṇḍa, in this instance, may be taken to represent the Śilâhâra Aparâjita, who was a contemporary of Sindhurâja.[2]

Taking all these things into consideration, it may be asserted that the theme of Padmagupta's Navasâhasâṅka-carita is one of Sindhurâja's adventurous expeditions against the Mâna king of Vajra. The general outline on which Padmagupta has based his story may be given from the above discussion, as follows :

The ancient Nâga dynasty of the Bastar State was at constant enmity with its neighbours, the non-Aryan kings of Vajra. In the last quarter of the 10th century A. D., a king of that Nâga family, having failed to cope successfully with the Mânas in battle, turned to Sindhurâja for help. The Paramâra king readily granted his request, and marched with an army against the Mâna chief. In this campaign, he was accompanied by his minister, Ramâṅgada, and was assisted apparently by the Śilâhâra Aparâjita and the Nâga armies. In the course of his long march, he once pitched his camp on

1 In the 13th Sarga, Śaśikhaṇḍa gives the following account of himself to Sindhurâja. He dwelt on the mountain Śaśikânta, and his father was Śikhaṇḍaketu, prince of the Vidyâdharas. Once a rumour went forth that a representation of Viṣṇu, made of sapphire, had risen out of the sea. The people of the town flocked to witness the wonder. He also, in company with his wife, proceeded to the seashore, to satisfy her curiosity.

2 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XIII, p. 13; E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 273.

the banks of the Wainganga and subsequently halted in a wood in the Vajra country, on the eve of his attack upon the Mâna capital Ratnâvatî. He demanded submission from the Mâna chief, but on the latter's peremptory refusal, a fierce battle followed. Ramâṅgada lost his life at the hand of the Mâna prince. Sindhurâja slew the Mâna king in the battle, and finally conquered Ratnâvatî. The Nâga chief, as a token of gratitude for his services, gave him his daughter in marriage. Sindhurâja adorned the new bride with rich jewels, which he obtained through plundering the Mâna capital, and then made a triumphant march to his own kingdom.

Some time before his victory over the Mâna king, Sindhurâja seems to have come into conflict with the Kalacuris of Mahâkosala,[1] whose territory lay on the north-eastern border of the Vajra country. Its capital was at Tummâna, modern Tumana, a village in the Bilaspur District, in the Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces.[2] Padmagupta records Sindhurâja's victory over the king of Kosala, which evidently meant Dakṣiṇa-Kosala.[3] The vanquished chief of Kosala seems to have been Kaliṅgarâja, the founder of this junior Kalacuri branch.[4] It is also to be noted here that the Nâga dynasty of the Bastar State was at war with these Kalacuris. The Nâga Śomeśvara was

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 33.

2 Ibid.; I. A., Vol. LIII, pp. 267ff.

3 Uditena vairi-timira-druhâbhitas
Tava nâtha vikrama-mayûkha-mâlinâ |
Nihitâs tvayâ mahati śoka-sâgare
Jagatîndra *Kosala-pateḥ* purandhrayaḥ ||
(Sarga X, v. 18, p. 161, fn. II.)

4 E. I., Vol. I, p. 33.

defeated and captured in battle by the Kalacuri Jâjalladeva (1114 A. D.).[1]

It is doubtful whether Sindhurâja, during the course of his military excursions, advanced as far as the country of the Muralas, as is stated by Padmagupta.[2] Murala is the same as Kerala, which is to be identified with the modern Malabar coast.[3] Professor Bühler[4] suggests that the poet might have meant by it the whole Dravidian District, and have referred to the continuation of the struggle between the Câḷukyas and the Paramâras during the reign of Sindhurâja. But this is untenable.

WAR WITH THE HÛṆAS.

On the north Sindhurâja seems to have tried to carry out the military policy of his predecessors. The fight with the Hûṇas, which began during the reign of Sîyaka, was now brought to a successful termination. Both the Udayapur praśasti[5] and the Navasâhasâṅka-carita[6] glorify his success over the Hûṇa king.

Vâgaḍa was the name of the territory which now comprises the modern Banswara and Dungarpur States. The southern portion of it had been ruled by a junior branch of the Paramâras as vassals of the house of

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 33.
2 Navas°, Sarga X, v. 16.
3 N. L. De's Geog. Dictionary, pp. 98, 134.
4 I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 171 ; E. I., Vol. I, p. 229.
5 Tasyânujo nirjjita-Hûṇarâjaḥ śrî-Siṃdhurâjo vijayârjjita-śrîḥ (E. I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 16.)
6 Apakartum atra samaye tavâtta-bhîr
manasâpi Hûṇa-nṛpatir na vâñchati ।
ibha-kumbha-bhitti-dalanodyame harer
na kapiḥ kadâcana saṭâṃ vikarṣati ॥ (Sarga X, v. 14.)

Dhârâ.[1] Sindhurâja seems to have wrested its northern portion from the Guhilas of Mewar. His victory over the people of that country is narrated in the Navasâhasâṅka-carita.[2]

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF LÂṬA.

The Lâṭa chief Bârappa, who seems to have been defeated on one occasion by Vâkpati, subsequently lost his life at the hands of the Caulukya Câmuṇḍarâja, son of Mûlarâja.[3] The Caulukyas, on that occasion, appear to have conquered the whole of Lâṭa. But Bârappa's son Goṅgirâja, was a brave general. He succeeded in regaining his paternal territory, overthrowing the supremacy of the Caulukyas. A copper-plate grant of Trilocanapâla,[4] dated 1050 A. D., states that "Goṅgirâja relieved his own land like the great Viṣṇu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons." But apparently, before he could fully establish his authority on his paternal throne, he had to confront an invading army of the Paramâras. The war which followed resulted in his temporary defeat. Sindhurâja's successful expedition against Lâṭa is mentioned by Padmagupta.[5]

1 Vide Chapter X.

2 Asi-kânti-jâla-jaṭilâgra-bâhunâ
rana-sîmni nâtha nihateṣu bhartṛṣu |
bhavatâtra Vâgaḍa·vadhû-janaḥ kṛto
rati-sandhi-vigraha-kathâ-parâṅmukhaḥ || (Sarga X, v. 15.)

3 Dvyâśraya, by Hemacandra, 6th Sarga ; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 159

4 I. A., Vol. XII, p. 203.

5 Rabhasâd apâsya maṇi-kaṅkaṇâvalîḥ
kanak-âravinda-kaṭakeṣu te 'sinâ |
na kim arpitâni nṛpa Lâṭa-yositâṁ
sphaṭikâkṣa-sûtra-valayâni pâṇiṣu. ||
(Navas°, Sarga X, v. 17.)

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

All these successful military feats undoubtedly added lustre to the career of Sindhurâja. His campaigns in the neighbourhood of Gujarat soon involved him in a quarrel with the Caulukyas of Anhilwar. At the time when the Paramâras were struggling in the Deccan under Vâkpati, Mûlarâja made good use of the respite to increase his resources. By his political ingenuity he succeeded in leaving behind him a strong and well-established empire.[1] His son Câmuṇḍarâja (997-1009 A. D.), who in his youth had distinguished himself by the conquest of Lâṭa, was a worthy successor. It was during the early part of Câmuṇḍa's reign that Sindhurâja launched a campaign against Gujarat. But Câmuṇḍarâja offered a successful resistance and completely routed the Paramâras. The Vadnagar praśasti[2] of Kumârapâla, dated 1151 A. D., states that, seeing from afar the armies of Câmuṇḍarâja, Sindhurâja, together with his elephant forces, made such a cowardly flight that all his well-established fame was lost by it.[3] This defeat of the Paramâras had a serious effect upon their political authority in the north. It seems to have led to the

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 156.

2 Sûnus tasya babhûva bhûpa-tilakaś Câmuṇḍarâj-âhvayo yad-gaṃdha-dvipa-dâna-gaṃdha-pavanâghrâṇena durâd api vibhraśyan mada-gaṃdha-bhagna-karibhiḥ śrî-Sindhurâjas tathâ naṣṭaḥ kṣoṇî-patir yathâsya yaśasâṃ gaṃdho pinirnâśitaḥ |

(E. I., Vol. I. p. 297.) Read kṣoṇi-pater.

3 Jayasiṃha, who flourished about the fourteenth century of the Christian era, says in his Kumârapâla-carita, that Sindhurâja was killed in the battle by Câmuṇḍarâja : "Râjâ Câmuṇḍarâjo 'tha yaḥ Sindhurâjam ivonmattaṃ Siṃdhurâjaṃ mṛdhe' vadhît' (v. 31). But in view of the above account of the Vadnagar praśasti, it cannot be maintained.

relaxation of their supremacy over Mount Abu and Southern Marwar, which eventually culminated in the temporary overthrow of the Paramâra rule in the former province, in the third decade of the 11th century A. D. [1]

Side by side with his political activities, Sindhurâja energetically fostered the literary movement, which had been vigorously carried on in Malwa under the patronage of his predecessors. Padmagupta tells us that, [2] "The seal which Vâkpatirâja put upon my song when he was about to enter heaven (by his death), Sindhurâja, brother of that friend of poets, now breaks." By this he means that the loss of Vâkpati silenced him, and now the genial patronage of Sindhurâja revives his poetic genius.

This indirectly shows that the literary activities, which had fallen into abeyance owing to the death of Vâkpati, received fresh impetus under the encouraging attention of Sindhurâja. The old poets Dhanika and Dhanapâla seem also to have adorned his court.

Sindhurâja did not rule long, and he was succeeded by his son Bhoja. As regards the duration of his reign nothing can at present be said with accuracy. The last known date of Vâkpati is 993-4 A. D., and the earliest known date of Bhoja is 1020 A. D. [3] Sindhurâja reigned between these two dates. Merutuṅga says [4] that Bhoja enjoyed his sovereignty for "fifty-five years, seven months and three days." This detailed information of

1 Vide Chapter IX.

2 Grantha-praśasti, v. 7; I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 150, foot-note 4, vide post chapter VIII.

3 E. I., Vol. XI, p. 182.

4 Pañcâśat-pañca-varṣâṇi-mâsâḥ sapta dina-trayam |
Bhoktavyaṃ Bhojarâjena sa-Gauḍaṃ Dakṣiṇâpatham ||
(Prabandha° ; Muñja-prabandha, p. 57.)

the Jaina teacher may be provisionally accepted as true in the absence of any evidence to the contrary. The earliest known date of Bhoja's successor, Jayasiṃha, is 1055 A. D. Following this, Bhoja's accession may be considered to have taken place in the early part of 999 A. D. This also settles the furthest limit of Sindhurâja's reign. [1]

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1 Lassen and others suggest that Bhoja ascended the throne in 1005 A. D. (Pâiyalacchî, edited by Bühler, Introduction, p. 9.) Bühler removes the date to 1010 A. D. (Ibid.) I beg to differ from them, on the authority of Merutuṅga, which is the only definite available evidence to throw light on the subject.

CHAPTER IV.

BHOJA THE GREAT.

According to Merutuṅga,[1] Bhoja was the immediate successor of Vâkpati on the throne of Malwa. A horoscope, cast immediately after Bhoja's birth, revealed that he was destined to rule Dakṣiṇâpatha with Gauḍa for fiftyfive years, seven months, and three days. This led Vâkpati seriously to consider the question of his own son's peaceful succession, and he is said subsequently to have given orders for the execution of Bhoja. When the prince had been taken to a certain place for the fulfilment of the royal command, the officers in charge adjured him to prepare for death by commending himself to his chief deity. But he merely requested them to send to the king the following verse:[2]

"Mândhâtṛ, that lord of earth, the ornament of the Kṛta age, passed away;

Where is that enemy of the ten-headed Râvaṇa, who made the bridge over the ocean?

And many other sovereigns have there been, Yudhiṣṭhira and others, ending with thee, O king;

Not with one of them did the earth pass away;

I suppose it will pass away with thee."

The officers took pity on his youth and sent the stanza as directed. When the king read it, he regretted his own conduct, and at once ordered the prince to be brought back, receiving him with great affection and according him the dignity of a crown-prince.

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 22.

2 Ibid.

The same story, with slight alterations, is repeated in the Â'în-i-Akbarî,[1] where it is stated that after Bhoja's birth, his relations, on account of an erroneous horoscope, deserted him and exposed him to death, but that very soon afterwards, when the error was detected, the child was restored to their affection.

A number of contemporary records relate that Vâkpati was succeeded by his younger brother, Sindhurâja, who was again followed by his son Bhoja. In view of this fact, the above story is to be rejected in its entirety.

Six inscriptions of Bhoja's reign have hitherto been discovered.

(i) The Banswara plates, dated 1020 A. D.[2]

These plates were found in the possession of a coppersmith in Banswara, in Rajputana. They record that Bhoja, on the anniversary of his conquest of Koṅkaṇa, granted one hundred nivartaṇas of land in the village of Vaṭapadraka, in the Ghâgradora bhoga of the Sthalî maṇḍala, to a Brahman Bhâila, son of Vâmana, whose forefathers came there from the city of Chiñchâ. The inscription was issued in Saṃvat 1076, which corresponds to the 3rd January 1020 A. D.

Of the localities mentioned above, Vaṭapadraka is to be identified with the modern village of Baroda in the Banswara State[3]; Koṅkaṇa is the modern Konkan, the narrow strip of land that runs along the western coast of the peninsula of India. Nothing can be said

1 Â'în-i-Akbarî, Vol. II, pp. 216-17.

2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 182.

3 A Guhila inscription, dated V. S. 1291=1234 A. D., states that Sihaḍadeva was ruling at that time in Vaṭapadra, which is situated in Vâgaḍa (modern Banswara and Dungarpur States). P. R. (W. C.), 1915, p. 36.

definitely regarding the Ghâgradora bhoga and the Sthalî maṇḍala. They must have comprised lands around the village of Baroda.

(ii) The Betma plates, dated 1020 A. D. [1]

The inscription was discovered by a farmer while ploughing near the village of Betma, sixteen miles to the west of Indore, in Central India.

In this record Bhoja announces to the government officials, Brahmans and other local residents, Patels and townsmen, assembled at Nâlataḍâga, situated in the Nyâyapadra Seventeen, that he has granted the above mentioned village of Nâlataḍâga to the learned Delha, son of Bhaṭṭa Ṭhaṭṭhaśika, who was an emigrant from Sthâṇvîśvara and whose ancestors had migrated from Viśâlagrâma. The gift was made on the occasion of the annexation of Koṅkaṇa, with the object of increasing the religious merit of the king and his parents. It was recorded in V. S. 1076, Bhâdrapada su-di 15, which corresponds to September 1020 A. D.

Mr. Diskalkar, who has edited this inscription, suggests [2] that Nyâyapadra represents the modern town of Napad, in the Kaira District, a little to the south-west of Indore. Nâlataḍâga, according to him, is to be identified with the modern Nar (Nal), in the same District. Sthâṇvîśvara is evidently the modern Thanesar, in the Karnal District of the Punjab.

(iii) The Ujjain plate, dated 1021 A. D. [3]

The inscription was found by a peasant when ploughing near a small stream called Nagajhari, which is included in the sacred Pañcakroṣî of Ujjain. It records

1 E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 320.
2 Ibid., p. 322.
3 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 53.

that in Saṃvat 1078, Mâgha=1021 A. D., January, Bhoja, having worshipped the lord of Bhavânî, from his residence of Dhârâ granted the village Vîrâṇâka, situated within the District to the west of Nâgadraha, to a Brahman named Dhanapati Bhaṭṭa, son of Bhaṭṭa Govinda, a Ṛgvedi Brahman, who was an emigrant from Śrîvâḍa, situated in Vella Valla in Karṇâṭa. The record was executed in Caitra, su-di 14 of the same year.

Nâgadraha, mentioned above, is apparently the locality around the stream Nagajhari, where the plates were found. It is difficult to identify the village Vîrâṇâka.

(iv) The Sarasvatî image inscription, in the British Museum, dated 1033 A. D.[1]

This record is engraved on the pedestal of an image of Sarasvatî, now in the British Museum. It states that in Saṃvat 1091=1033 A. D., Bhoja caused this image of Vâgdevî to be erected by a sculptor, Manathala, the son of the craftsman Sahira.

(v) The Tilakwada copper plate, dated 1047 A. D.[2]

This was found by a man in the bed of the Narmada, at a place called "Nânâ Owârâ" (smaller bathing ghat), in Tilakwada, in the Baroda State.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village called Viluhaja, along with a hundred nivartanas of land from the neighbouring village of Ghaṇṭâpallî, for the maintenance of the temple of Ghaṇṭeśvara. The donor was the illustrious Jasorâja, who was apparently a governor of Bhoja, in the Saṃgamakheṭa-maṇḍala.

1 Rûpam, 1924, p. 1.

2 Proceedings and Transactions of the first Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, p. 319.

His father was Surâditya, a member of the Śravaṇabhadra family, who had emigrated from Kânyakubja. In Saṃvat 1103 Mârga-(śirṣa)=1047 A. D., having worshipped Śiva, called Maneśvara, in the temple that stood on the confluence of the river Maṇâ with the Narmada, Jasorâja made this grant of land. The record was prepared by the Kâyastha Sohika, son of Aivala, of the family of Vala, at the request of the king.

(vi) The Kalvan inscription.[1]

This inscription was discovered in a village near Kalvan, in the north-western part of the Nasik District of the Bombay Presidency. Yaśovarman, an officer of Bhoja, had been ruling over fifteen hundred villages, Selluka and others. In the Âudrahâḍi viṣaya of that province, which consisted of eighty-four rent-free villages, was situated the village of Muktâpalî. Râṇaka Amma of the Gaṅga family, the chief officer of the viṣaya, while residing in the above-mentioned village, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, on the new-moon day of Caitra, granted certain pieces of land at Mahiṣabuddhikâ, in the holy tîrtha of Kâlakâleśvara, to the temple of Munisuvrata, which was situated in the Śvetapâda country. The inscription also mentions the donation of two oil-mills, fourteen shops, fourteen drammas, etc., for the benefit of the same temple. In connection with the lands granted, reference is made to the villages of Mâhuḍalâ, Hathâvâḍa, Kâkaḍa, Cuḍailîvaṭa, Aṭṭani, and the city of Saṃgâma.

Kâlakâleśvara tîrtha is to be identified with the place, now ten miles to the west of Kalvan, where the Śaiva temple of Kâlakâleśvara is still to be found. Śvetapâda is the ancient name of Khandesh. Mr. D. B.

1 E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 69.

Diskalkar gives the following suggestions regarding the identification of the rest of the localities : [1]

(a) Selluka	is the modern	Satane, near Kalvan.
(b) Muktâpalî	„ „ „	Makhamalavad.
(c) Mahuḍalâgrâma	„ „ „	Mohadi, in the Dindori tâluka to the north of Makhamalabad.
(d) Mahiṣabuddhikâ	„ „ „	Mahasarula, near Nasik.
(e) Hathâvâḍa	„ „ „	Halasagadh fort.
(f) Saṃgâmanagara	„ „ „	Sungane, capital of a petty Bhil state on the border of the Nasik and Surat Districts.

None of these equations, however, seems satisfactory.

As regards the date of this record, we know nothing except that it was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse, in the month of Caitra. Bhoja conquered Konkan in 1019-20 A. D. As the record contains this information, it must have been issued after this date. [2]

1 Journal of Indian History, Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 326.

2 Mr. R. D. Banerji thinks that the record was issued during the troublous period that followed the death of Bhoja. His assertion is based upon the following points :

(a) The absence of Garuḍa and Snake Seal, the emblem of the Paramâras.

(b) The absence of the date and of all mention of the reigning king as kuśalî.

(c) The absence of the customary verse, at the beginning, in praise of Śiva. (E. I., Vol XIX, p. 70).

Although some of the general characteristics of the Paramâra grant are absent from this inscription, this does not

If to all these epigraphic evidences is added that of Al Bêrûnî,[1] who states that in 1030 A. D. Bhilsa was the eastern limit of the Malwa kingdom, the following outline of the Paramâra dominion, over which Bhoja ruled in the early part of his reign, may be sketched. It extended on the north as far as Banswara and Dungarpur, on the east to Bhilsa, on the south to the upper courses of the Godavari, Khandesh and Konkan, and on the west to the modern Kaira District.

After the accession of Sîyaka II, Ujjain seems to have enjoyed the position of the chief city of the Paramâra kingdom. During that period Dhârâ lost much of its importance. Bhoja rebuilt the city on a new model, and transferred his capital thither from Ujjain.[2] Rohaka was the prime minister of his government,[3] and Kulacandra,[4] Sâḍa and Surâditya[5] were his three generals. Bhoja was probably a boy of fifteen, or thereabouts when he assumed the government. During his reign the country became very affluent and prosperous, and the Paramâras rose to the zenith of

preclude the assumption that the record was issued during the reign of Bhoja. The particular care which the donor has taken to mention the name of Bhoja at the beginning of the inscription is strong evidence that it was contemporary with that king. After all, it is a grant issued by a private individual, and not a royal personage. (See, for further discussion, the Journal of Indian History, Vol. II, Part III, p. 326.)

1 Al Bêrûnî's "India" translated by Dr. E. C. Sachau, Vol. I, p. 202.

2 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 46 ; Al Bêrûnî, who visited India in 1030 A. D., describes Dhârâ as the capital of Malwa (Sachau's translation, Vol. I, p. 202).

3 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 36.

4 Ibid., p. 46.

5 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 72. ; vide ante p. 86.

their power. The ideals which were set up by Vâkpati were now fully realised in every sphere of life. The new king became renowned for his literary and architectural achievements. Like his predecessors, he was an intrepid warrior, an astute general, and a great conqueror. In early life he seems to have cherished a dream of establishing a paramount sovereignty over the whole of Central India. His attempt to realise this ambition soon involved him in ceaseless wars with the neighbouring rulers.

WAR IN THE SOUTH.

Bhoja seems to have selected the Deccan for his initial military adventure. After the execution of Muñja by Tailapa II, there was a temporary cessation of the long-continued war between the Paramâras and the Câḷukyas. Tailapa was followed by Satyâśraya (997-1008 A. D.), Vikramâditya V (1008-1014 A. D.), Ayyana II (1014 A. D.), and Jayasiṃha II (1015-1042 A. D.). In the early years of the eleventh century A. D., the old feud between the two neighbouring families was revived with full vigour. Merutuṅga tells us[1] that once Bhoja was making the necessary arrangements for leading an army against Gujarat, and as this country was suffering at the time from great economic distress, its king, Bhîma, sent his agent Dâmara to the court of Dhârâ to dissuade the Paramâra sovereign from pursuing his proposed undertaking. Dâmara, to this end, arranged for a drama to be played before Bhoja, in which the execution of Muñja at the hand of Tailapa II was touchingly exhibited. This prompted the Paramâra king to direct his course, in the first place, against the Karṇâṭa country, in place of

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 45.

Gujarat, and the Bhoja-carita tells us that he subjected Tailapa to severe indignities, by way of reprisals, and finally executed him.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, making due allowance for some historical inaccuracies, suggests,[1] on the basis of the above story, that it was not Tailapa but his grandson Vikramâditya V, who lost his life at the hands of Bhoja. Mr. Ojha, on the other hand, is inclined to identify the Câḷukya king who fell a victim to Bhoja's vengeance with Jayasiṃha II.[2] A verse in the Vikramâṅkadevacarita[3] recounts that "Filling the whole of Svarga (Heaven) with the fame of his victories, Jayasiṃha received a garland of flowers, culled from the Pârijâta tree, from Indra's own hands." This, according to Mr. Ojha, points to Jayasiṃha's death on the battlefield, which may presumably be taken to have occurred in his contest with Bhoja. Mr. Venkatarama Ayyar objects[4] to Mr. Ojha's assertion, on the ground that in the ancient mythologies it was the "apsarâs" (angels) and not Indra who garlanded the hero who died on the field of battle. According to him, Bhandarkar's view seems more tenable. In the absence of any other corroborative evidence and in the face of such a gross chronological inaccuracy, the above story, as narrated in the Bhoja-carita, together with Merutuṅga's version of it, should be accepted only with reservation. If it contains any grain of truth, Mr. Ojha's view seems to be a nearer approach towards the correct solution of the problem. It was Jayasiṃha, and

1 The Early History of the Deccan, by R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 61.

2 Ojha's History of the Solâṅkis, part I, pp. 87ff; Ajmer, 1907.

3 Canto I, v. 86.

4 I. A., Vol. XLVIII, p. 118, fn. 54.

not Vikramâditya V, who was contemporary with Bhîma of Gujarat (1022-1064 A. D.), during whose reign Bhoja is said to have invaded the Câḷukya kingdom. Authentic information regarding the struggle between the Paramâras and the Karṇâṭas, which was a distinguishing feature of the history of this period, can be gathered from sundry contemporary records.

Some epigraphic evidence is at our disposal to prove that Bhoja, in the course of his military conquests in the south, came into conflict with the Câḷukya Jayasiṃha. The tragic circumstances under which his uncle Muñja had died in the Deccan, were still fresh in his memory, and, as Merutuṅga tells us, prompted him to launch a campaign against Karṅâṭa. He made a temporary alliance with the Kalacuri Gâṇgeya and the Coḷa Râjendra I, for a simultaneous attack upon the Câḷukya empire.[1] He seems to have achieved some preliminary successes in the contest that followed. Both the Kalvan inscription[2] and the Udayapur praśasti[3] record his victory over the Karṇâṭas. But his final attempt to establish supremacy over the Deccan seems to have ended in signal failure. An inscription,[4] dated 1019 A. D., of the reign of Jayasiṃha, informs us that

1 Kulenur inscription, E. I., Vol. XV, p. 330.

2 ......Karṇṇâṭa-Lâṭa-Gûrjjara-Cedy-â(a)dhipa-Koṃkaṇ-esa (śa)-prabhṛti-ripu vargga-nirddârita-janita-trâsa-yasa(śo)-dhavalita-bhuvana-trayaḥ Śrî-Bhojadeva ......(lines 6-7, E. I., Vol. XIX, pp. 71-72).

3 Cedîśvar-Eṃdraratha-(Togga)la-(Bhîma-mu)khyân
Karṇṇâṭa-Lâṭa-pati-Gûrjjara-râṭ-Turuṣkân ।
Yad-bhṛtya-mâtra-vijitân avalo(kya) maulâ
doṣṇâṃ va(ba)lâni kalayaṃti na (yoddhṛ)-lo(kân) ॥
(E. I., Vol. I., p. 235, v. 19.)

4 I. A., Vol. V, p. 17.

the king was "a moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja", and that "he searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Mâlava" The Kulenur inscription [1] of the same monarch, dated 1028 A. D., states that the king routed the elephant squadrons of the Coḷa, Gâṅgeya and Bhojarâja. In this defensive operation Jayasiṃha seems to have been assisted by one of his vassals, named Bâcirâja, who is eulogised for having put the Mâlavyas to shame by his victorious arms. [2]

After this the hostility between the two houses seems to have ceased for a number of years. But the old quarrel soon sprang up again with the accession of Someśvara I, son and successor of Jayasiṃha, who ruled in the Deccan from 1044 to 1068 A. D. Constant wars with the neighbouring kings undermined the military strength of Bhoja in the latter part of his reign, and thus provided a favourable opportunity for Someśvara to launch aggressive campaigns against Malwa. Bilhaṇa, in his Vikramâṅkadeva-carita, narrates [3] that in a battle with Âhavamalla, when Dhârâ, the glory of the

1 E. I., Vol. XV, p. 330.

2 Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. 8, p. 20, v. 37.

3 Dîpra-pratâp-ânala-saṃnidhanâd bibhrat pipâsâm iva yat-kṛpâṇaḥ ।
Pramâra-pṛthvî-pati-kîrti-dhârâṃ Dhârâm udârâṃ kavalîcakâra ॥ 91
Agâdha-pânîya-nimagna-bhûri-bhûbhṛt-kuṭumbo' pi yadîya-khaḍgaḥ ।
Bhâgya-Kṣayân Mâlava-bhartur âsîd ekâṃ na Dhârâṃ parihartum îśaḥ ॥ 92
Niḥśeṣa-nirvâsita-râja-haṃsaḥ khaḍgena bâl-âmbuda-mecakena ।
Bhoja-kṣamâ-bhṛd-bhuja-pañjare 'pi yaḥ kîrti-haṃsîṃ virasî-cakâra ॥ 93

Paramâra lords in Mâlava, was stormed, king Bhoja fled away after which the Câḷukyas took possession of the city. An epigraphic record of Someśvara I's reign, tells us that the king assailed even the city of Dhârâ, which proved invincible to early kings.[1] An inscription[2] from Sudi, dated 1059-60 A. D., says that Âhavamalla was "a submarine fire to the whole of the ocean that is the race of the Mâlavyas." The same inscription further states that Nâgadeva, a steward of the royal house of the Câḷukyas and a military officer, was a Garuḍa to the serpent Bhoja," which indicates a defeat of Bhoja by this general.[3] Nâgadeva was also governor of a province consisting of the "Kisukâḍ Seventy," the "Toragare Sixty" and many "bhaṭṭa-grâmas."[4] In the Hottur inscription,[5] dated 1067 A. D., Jemarasa, a feudatory of Someśvara I, is described as "a flame of doom to Bhoja." Mâdhuva was also a feudatory under this Câḷukya sovereign. An inscription from Nagai,[6] dated Śaka 980 =1058 A. D., issued during his reign, states the fact of Someśvara's burning of Dhârâ and Ujjain. Mâdhuva himself joined in this enterprise, and takes to himself

Bhoja-kṣamâpâla-vimukta-Dhârâ-nipâta-mâtreṇa raṇeṣu yasya |
Kalpânta-kâlânala-caṇḍa-mûrtiś citraṃ prakopâgnir avâpa sântim || 94
(Vikramâṅkadeva-caritam, Sarga I.)

1 Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1928, p. 72, line 13.

2 Mâlavya-vaṃśârṇṇav-âkhilad Aurbbânalan......... (E. I., Vol. XV, p. 87, v. 2.

3 Bhoja-bhujaṃgâhi-dviṣaṃ, (ibid., p. 88, v. 5).

4 Ibid., p. 92.

5 E. I., Vol. XVI, p. 86.

6 Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 8, p. 20.

the credit of driving away the lord of Dhârâ from his capital. Gundamaya was the dandanâyaka of Somêśvara I. An inscription, dated 1060 A. D., glorifies him by stating that he was "a royal swan, strolling on both the banks of the Narmadâ, an evil comet to the Mâlava people, capturer of the fort named Mandeva (modern Mandu), and was held in honour in the city of Dhârâ."[1]

From all these it may be concluded that Someśvara I, accompanied by his subordinates, Nâgadeva, Gundamaya, Jemarasa and Mâdhuva, invaded Malwa in the middle of the 11th century A. D., and that Bhoja, having failed to repel this formidable force, fled away from his capital. Malwa was overrun by the Câlukya armies, and its capital Dhârâ was sacked. Someśvara, however, soon left his enemy's country, when Bhoja returned and revived his authority. The blow was undoubtedly a severe one to the Paramâras, and during this cataclysm they seem to have lost large part of their southern possessions. Since the reign of Sîyaka II the Godavari appears to have been the southern limit of the Paramâra kingdom ; but the Sitabaldi pillar inscription, dated Śaka 1008 = 1087 A. D.[2], proves that by that time the boundary of the Câlukya empire had been pushed northwards as far as Nagpur, in the Central Provinces. This was probably the achievement of Someśvara I, who at one time brought the whole of the Mâlava kingdom under his direct control. The result of this Câlukyan invasion was, for more than one reason, disastrous to the Paramâras. It not only narrowed their territory, but, as we shall see, it tempted the other neighbouring rulers to take advantage of their helplessness.

1 An. Report of the Mysore Arch. Dep. for 1929, pp. 68-69.
2 E. I., Vol. III, p. 304.

WAR WITH INDRARATHA.

Almost about the same time that Bhoja was at war with the Câlukya Jayasiṃha, he came into conflict with a powerful prince named Indraratha. His decisive victory over Indraratha is recorded by the Udayapur praśasti.[1] This vanquished general was a king of no mean importance. In all probability, he was the same person who is mentioned in some Coḷa inscriptions of this period. The Tiruvavalangadu inscription[2] of the sixth year (1018 A.D.) of Râjendracoḷa (1012-1042 A.D.) states that the king's general "conquered Indraratha and captured the country of the jewel of that Lunar race, who met him (in battle) with powerful elephants, horses, and innumerable foot-soldiers." The Tirumalai rock-inscription[3] of the thirteenth year (1025 A. D.) of the same Coḷa monarch reports that the king captured Indraratha of the Lunar race, together with his family, in a battle that took place in the famous City of Âdinagara. Âdinagara may be identified with the famous city of Nagara, the modern Mukhalingam, in the Ganjam District, Madras Presidency. It was the capital of the Gangas of Kaliṅga. This suggestion finds further support from the fact that, in the list of the northern countries successively conquered by Râjendracoḷa I, it precedes the Oḍḍa-viṣaya, which comprised the modern Orissa. Indraratha might have been a vassal of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. As he is described as being captured by the Coḷas some time before 1018 A. D., his reverse at the hand of the Paramâras probably took place prior to that catastrophe.

1 Ante p. 91, footnote 3.
2 S. I. I., Vol. III, Part III, p. 424.
3 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 233.

WAR WITH LÂṬA.

Having finished his wars with Jayasiṃha and Indraratha, Bhoja turned his arms against the countries bordering the western coast of the peninsula of India. His success in this direction was sweeping, and gained for him a large territory, though only for a short period. The country of Lâṭa, which extended up to Surat, in the Bombay Presidency, seems to have been first assailed by him in the course of his southern march. The Lâṭa king, Kîrtirâja, son of Goṅgirâja, who apparently suffered defeat at the hand of Sindhurâja, was his contemporary. The Surat grant of Kîrtirâja is dated 1018 A.D.[1] He was evidently no match for the powerful armies of Bhoja, and being hard pressed by the latter, he seems to have surrendered his kingdom and capital to him. The Kalvan inscription and the Udayapur praśasti both record Bhoja's conquest of Lâṭa.[2] The copper-plate grant of Trilocanapâla,[3] who was the grandson of Kîrtirâja, seems to refer to this disaster in the statement that during the reign of Kîrtirâja his fame was temporarily taken away by his enemies.

WAR WITH KONKAN.

The acquisition of Lâṭa emboldened Bhoja to push his arms further south. This brought him to the border of Koṅkaṇa, a country extending from the Thana District, Bombay Presidency to the Malabar coast of the Madras Presidency on the south. The Śilâhâras held sway over the northern part of this

1 Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. VII, p. 88.

2 Ante, p. 91, footnote 2 and 3.

3 I. A., Vol. XII, p. 204.

country, and their territory extended as far as Goa. They had been on friendly terms with Sindhurâja and helped him in his expedition against the Mânas of Wairagarh; but for some reason, their relations with Bhoja became unfriendly. The tenth king of the family was Arikeśarin, whose other name was Keśideva.[1] The Thana plate[2] of his reign, dated 1017 A. D., records that he had been ruling the whole land of Koṅkaṇa, comprising many territories acquired by his own arm, and containing fourteen-hundred villages, headed by Puri. In all likelihood, Bhoja invaded Konkan during the reign of this prince and succeeded in defeating him and forcing him to acknowledge his suzerainty. On his return to Malwa he celebrated this event with great pomp and ceremony, making liberal gifts to Brahmans. His own records relate that the ceremony for the conquest of Koṅkaṇa was performed on the 3rd January, 1020 A. D.,[3] and that its final annexation was concluded in the month of September of the same year.[4] The Śilâhâras, however, continued to rule over Konkan, probably as vassals of the Paramâras,[5] till they

1 E. I., Vol. XII, p. 253; Asiatic Researches, Vol. I, p. 357.

2 E. I., Vol. XII, p. 254.

3 Koṅkaṇa-vijaya-parvaṇi, E. I., Vol. XI, p. 182.

4 Koṅkaṇa-grahaṇa-vijaya-parvaṇi, ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 320.

5 Some are inclined to think that during this period the Śilâhâras of Northern Konkan were feudatories of the Câḷukyas of Kalyani (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 436). At present no evidence is available to support this view. The Miraj plates of the Câḷukya Jayasiṃha II, dated 1024 A. D., state that the king, having taken the wealth of the lords of the Seven Koṅkaṇas, encamped at Kolhapur for the purpose of conquering the northern country (......... Sapta-Koṃkaṇâdhiśvarâṇâṃ sarvvasvaṃ gṛhîtvâ uttara-dig-vijayârthaṃ Kolhâ(llâ?)pura-samîpa -samâvâsita ... I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 18). (For Seven Koṅkaṇas,

were subjugated by the Cauḷukyas of Gujarat in the early part of the 12th century A. D.[1] The Bhandup plate of the Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Chittarâja, the immediate successor of Arikeśarin, dated 1026 A. D., records that this prince was ruling over the whole land of Koṅkaṇa, containing fourteen hundred villages, headed by Puri.[2] Similar claims are also put forward by his successors in their epigraphic records, in which they always assume the epithet of a subordinate chief.

About this time, *i. e.* in the third decade of the eleventh century A. D., the perilous situation created by successive invasions of the Moslems in Northern India led

see Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, pp 381-82). This clearly points out that the northern part of Konkan, which lies north of Kolhapur, in the Bombay Presidency, still did not come under the control of the Câḷukyas. The Sudi inscription of the reign of Someśvara I, dated 1059 A. D. (E. I., Vol. XV, p. 91), praises the king for shattering the hosts of Konkan. An inscription of the reign of the Câḷukya Vikramâditya VI, dated 1084 A. D., (E. I., Vol. XV, p. 103), records that the Koṅkaṇas trembled before this monarch. All these facts serve to show that the relations between the Câḷukyas and the Koṅkaṇas were those rather of enemies than of overlord and vassal.

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 24.

2 I. A., Vol. V, p. 277. On the strength of the Miraj plates, Mr. Diskalkar suggests that Konkan was wrested from Bhoja by the Câḷukya Jayasiṃha some time before 1024 A. D. (E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 321.) But a critical examination of the above report shows that by the Seven Koṅkaṇas which Jayasiṃha conquered are meant the territories south of Kolhapur, and that the countries north of that still remained to be conquered. I agree with Mr. P. V. Kane in thinking that the ruler of the Seven Koṅkaṇas referred to above must have been a Kâdamba king of Goa. (Proceedings & Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, p. 380.)

Bhoja to stop his aggressions in the south. The disastrous condition to which his neighbours were reduced by these new invaders made him fully conscious of his own position. He probably had to array all his forces on the northern boundary of his realm in order to offer a strong resistance to their apprehended invasion.

WAR WITH THE MOSLEMS.

Bhoja never had to fight with the Moslems in defence of his own realm. At the time of his accession to the throne, Sultân Maḥmûd of Ghaznî was beginning his military operations against India. Firishta tells us[1] that "In the year 399 H. (1008 A. D.), Maḥmûd, having collected his forces, determined again to invade Hindûstân, and to punish Anandpâl who had shewn much insolence during the late invasion of Multân. Anandpâl, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindûstân, who now considered the expulsion of the Muhammadans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly, the Râjas of Ujjain, Gwâliâr, Kâlinjar, Kanauj, Delhî and Ajmir *entered into a confederacy, and, collecting their forces,* advanced towards the Panjâb with a greater army than had ever before taken the field against Amîr Sabuktigîn. Anandpâl himself took the command, and advanced to meet the invader." In the battle that followed the Hindûs were ultimately defeated and 8,000 of them were killed.

In the early years of the 11th century A. D., Ujjain was the capital of the Paramâra government, and in 1008 A. D. Bhoja was apparently on its throne. If Firishta's report proves to be true, it is to be maintained that the Paramâras rendered assistance to Ânandapâla

1 Elliot's History of India, Vol. II, pp. 446 ff.

in his war against Maḥmûd. Mr. V. A. Smith[1] accepts Firishta's statement as correct. Sir Wolseley Haig remarks[2] on this that "the number and consequence of Anandpâl's allies are perhaps exaggerated, but it is evident from Maḥmûd's excessive caution that Anandpâl had received considerable accession of strength and the army which he led into the field was a very different force from that which Maḥmûd had so easily brushed aside on his way to Multân." None of the early Muhammadan historians says anything about the participation of the other Hindu chiefs in the battle as mentioned by Firishta. Hence this account should be accepted with due reservation [3]

The Udayapur praśasti[4] records that Bhoja conquered the Turuṣkas by means of his mercenaries. Malwa was

1 Oxford Hist. of India, p. 191, 2nd ed.

2 Cambridge Hist. of India, Vol. III, pp. 15-16.

3 In the Ṭabaqât-i-Akbarî it is written that "when Maḥmûd resolved upon returning home from Somnât, he learned that Parama Dev, one of the greatest Râjas of Hindûstân, was preparing to intercept him. The Sultân, not deeming it advisable at the time to contend with this chief, went towards Multân, through Sind." (Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, App. 473-474.) This information is also contained in Firishta. (Elliot, Hist. of India, Vol. VI, pp. 219-220). Some are inclined to think that by Parama Dev is meant "Paramâra-deva", who is to be identified with Bhoja. (Downfall of Hindu India, C. V. Vaidya, p. 158).

Firishta writes that "Reinforcements arrived to the Hindus on the third day (of the attack of Somanâtha), led by Param Dev and Dâbshilîm whom Maḥmûd attacked and routed, slaying 5000 Hindus." (Elliot, History of India, vol. IV, p. 182, footnote 2). It is very likely that the Parama Dev alluded to in the Ṭabaqât-i-Akbarî is the same as Param Dev, just referred to, who is to be identified with Baramdev or Bhîmadeva of Gujarat.

4 E. I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 19.

never invaded by the Moslems during his rule. Hence it seems that he sent his mercenaries to fight with the Moslems somewhere outside his kingdom. It is not definitely known where and when his troops encountered this enemy. I can only hazard a conjecture upon this point. Firishta states that, "in the year 435 A. H. (1043 A. D.), the râja of Dehlî, in conjunction with other râjas, retook Hansy, Tahnesur and their dependencies, from the governors to whom Madood had entrusted them. The Hindûs from thence marched towards the fort of Nagrakote, which they besieged for four months; and the garrison, being distressed for provisions, and no succours coming from Lahore, was under the necessity of capitulating."[1] It may be that Bhoja sent troops to the assistance of the king of Delhi in his war against the Moslems.

Mr. Stirling points out from the annals of Orissa that Bhoja is there described as having ruled from B. C. 184 to B. C. 57, and as having routed the army of the Yavanas from Sind. It seems, as Professor Kielhorn thinks, that the king referred to above was none other than Bhoja of Malwa, who is ante-dated by about twelve centuries.[2] We have no other evidence to throw light on the subject.

WAR WITH THE KALACURIS.

In the foregoing chapter it has been seen that Vâkpati II, in the course of his military excursions, overran the Cedi country and plundered its capital Tripurî, from which its ruling sovereign Yuvarâja II, had fled. The Kalacuris, however, succeeded within a

1 Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, p. 118, cf. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 32-33.

2 E. I., Vol. III, p. 338.

very short time in regaining their possessions. They did not then re-instate Yuvarâja on the throne, since he had shown such abject cowardice on the approach of the Paramâras. Instead they chose as their ruler Kokalla II, the son of the deposed monarch.[1] His successor was Gâṅgeya-Vikramâditya, whose earliest known date is V. S. 1076=1019 A. D.,[2] and who closed his reign shortly before 1042 A. D.[3] He was a powerful king, and during his reign, the Kalacuri government first attained to an imperial position. He conquered the king of Gauḍa and brought Tîrabhukti under his away.[4] In the early years of his reign he entered into an alliance with Bhoja and Râjendracoḷa, for the simultaneous invasion of the Karṇâṭa country.[5] But, as we have seen, the allies were discomfited and routed by the Câḷukya, Jayasiṃha II.[6] The alliance, however, was subsequently broken, and the old feud between the Paramâras and the Kalacuris revived. Bhoja, with his skilful warriors, marched against Tripurî and won a decisive victory over Gâṅgeya. Both the Kalvan inscription[7] and the Udayapur praśasti[8] extol Bhoja's victory over the Cedi king. In the Pârijâta-mañjarî it is said that he "fulfilled his desires in a festival which was the defeat of Gâṅgeya."[9] This

1 E. I., Vol. II, p. 5.
2 J. A. S. B., 1903, p. 18.
3 E. I., Vol. II, p. 297.
4 J. A. S. B., 1903, p. 18.
5 Ante, p. 91.
6 Ante, p. 92.
7 Ante, p. 91, footnote 2.
8 Ibid., footnote 3.
9 Valgad-vâṇa-jaya-kṣamo vijayate niḥśeṣa-gotrâṇa-kṛt
Kṛṣṇaḥ Kṛṣṇa ivÂrjuno 'rjuna iva śrî-Bhojadevo nṛpaḥ

vanquished chief is evidently identical with the Kalacuri Gâṅgeya. Bhoja's victory over this powerful Kalacuri King says much for the extent of his high military power.

Gâṅgeya was succeeded by his son, Karṇa (1041-1072 A. D.), who was an astute general and one of the greatest of the Hindu kings of ancient India. During his reign the war between the Kalacuris and the Paramâras continued in full swing. He made an alliance with the Cauḷukya Bhîma, and simultaneously attacked Malwa from the east and the west But so long as Bhoja was alive, Karṇa could not secure any advantage of great consequence. [1]

WAR WITH THE CANDELLAS.

Having completed his expedition on the south, Bhoja seems to have turned his arms against his northern neighbours. The kingdom of the Candellas of Jejâkabhukti bordered the Paramâra territory on the north-east. It has already been seen that, in the middle of the 10th century A. D., the Candella Yaśovarman was at war with the Paramâras of Malwa. [2] He was followed by Dhaṅga (950-999 A. D.) and Gaṇḍa (999-1025 A.D.). Gaṇḍa was followed by Vidyâdhara (1025-1040 A.D.), who was renowned for his bravery and warlike activities. He defeated and killed the Pratihâra Râjyapâla of Kanauj. [3] The Kalacuri Gâṅgeya had also to yield

Visphûrjad-viṣameṣu-vedha-vidhurâṃ râdhâṃ vidhatte sma yas
Tûrṇṇaṃ pûrṇṇa-manorathaś ciram abhûd Gâṃgeya-bhaṃgotsave ||
(E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 101, v. 3.)

1 Prabandha°, p. 74.
2 E. I., Vol. I, p. 123.
3 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 233.

to his military force.[1] It was very difficult for Bhoja to carry out his military operations freely in the north until the forces of Vidyâdhara had been shattered. This led him to attack the Candella Kingdom, but with no very favourable result. The Mahoba inscription of the Candellas vaunts the superiority of Vidyâdhara over Bhoja by recording that "Bhojadeva, together with the moon of the Kalacuris, worshipped, full of fear like a pupil (this) master of warfare (*i. e.* Vidyâdhara,) who had caused the destruction of the king of Kânyakubja."[2]

WAR WITH THE KACCHAPAGHÂTAS OF GWALIOR AND THE GURJARA-PRATIHÂRAS OF KANAUJ.

His reverse at the hands of the Candellas did not however, discourage Bhoja from pursuing his military operations on the north. He appears ta have cherished the ambition of conquering Kanauj, which was then passing through a transitional period, due to the collapse of the imperial power of the Gurjara-Pratihâras. In the middle of the tenth century A. D. the Paramâra Vairisiṃha II wrested Malwa from the Pratihâra Mahendrapâla II (946 A. D.), or his successor Devapâla (949 A. D.). Since then the government of Kanauj had been fast declining in power, and its kingdom was reduced to a small territory around its capital. Devapâla was followed by Vijayapâla (960 A. D.) and Râjyapâla (1025 A. D.).

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 219. Vidyâdhara was a contemporary of Gâṅgeya. Hence the moon of the Kalacuris referred to here must be identified with the latter.

2 Tasmâd asau ripu-yaśaḥ-kusumâharo 'bhûd Vidyâdharo nṛpatir apra(ti) ...... (v. 20).

Vihita-Kanyâkubja-bhûpâla-bhaṅgam
Samara-gurum upâsta prauḍha-bhîs talpa-bhâjaṃ
Ṣaha Kalacuri-caṃdraḥ śiṣyavad Bhojadevaḥ (v. 21)

(E. I., Vol. I, pp. 221-222).

The last-mentioned king, as has been noticed above, was killed by the Candella Vidyâdhara. He was succeeded by Trilocanapâla (1027 A. D.) and Yaśaḥpâla (1036 A. D.) successively, after which there is no further trace of the Gurjara-Pratihâra dynasty.

This state of things on the north gave Bhoja a very wide field for the display of his military skill. His northern neighbours, the Kacchapaghâtas of Dubkund, were sworn enemies of the Pratihâras of Kanauj. The prince Arjuna of this family assisted the Candella Vidyâdhara in defeating and killing Râjyapâla.[1] His successor was Abhimanyu, with whom Bhoja seems to have entered into an alliance on the eve of his northern expedition. Abhimanyu's assistance was a great asset to the Paramâras in securing the success of their military operations. The Dubkund inscription, dated V. S. 1145=1088 A. D., of Abhimanyu's grandson Vikramasiṃha states that[2] "the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhojadeva, has widely celebrated the skill which he (Abhimanyu) showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons."

The alliance with the Dubkund prince did not provide Bhoja with a free passage to the border of the kingdom of Kanauj. Now another branch of the Kacchapaghâtas, holding sway over Gwalior, stood as a barrier in his way. Kîrttirâja, the successor of Maṅgalarâja, seems to have

1 E. I., Vol. II, p. 237.

2 (Sû)nu-(cchi)nna-dhanur-gguṇaṃ vijayino 'py âjau vijityo-(rji)taṃ jâto 'smâd Abhimanyur anya-nṛpatîn âmanyamânas tṛṇam ||

Yasyâtya(dbhuta)-vâha-vâhana-mahâ-śastra-prayogâd iṣu-prâvîṇyaṃ pravikatthitaṃ pṛthu-mati-śrî-Bhoja-pṛthvîbhujâ. (E.I., Vol. II, p. 237-8, lines 17-18.)

been on the throne about this time.[1] He arrayed his army to offer a successful resistance to the approaching Paramâra forces. In the fierce battle that followed, the Paramâras suffered a severe reverse. The Sasbahu inscription[2] of the Kacchapaghâta Mahîpâla tells us that Kîrttirâja defeated the countless host of the prince of Malwa. The Malwa army received such a terrible shock on this occasion that the spears fell from their hands through fear, and were subsequently collected by the villagers (apparently of Gwalior) and heaped around their houses.

1 The Kacchapaghâta Mahîpâla was ruling in 1093 A. D. (I. A., Vol. XV, p. 33), and the earliest known date of his successor is 1104 A. D. (ibid., p. 202). Padmapâla, who was the cousin and predecessor of Mahîpâla, died at an early age (ibid., p. 43, v. 30). Taking 1104 A. D. as the last date of the latter and allowing a reign of 20 years to each generation, except in the case of Padmapâla, the genealogy of this family stands thus :

	Vajradâman	977 A. D. Known date 977 A. D. (J. B. A. S., Vol. XXXI, p. 393).
	Mańgalarâja	999 A. D.
	Kîrttirâja	1019 A. D.
Mûladeva	Bhubanapâla	1039 A. D.
	Devapâla	1059 A. D.
	Padmapâla	1074 A. D.
	Mahîpâla	1084 A. D.—1093 A. D.
	Successor	1104 A. D.

2 Kiṃ brûmo 'sya kathâ (dbhu)taṃ narapater etena śauryâbdhinâ
Da(ṇḍ)o Mâlava-Bhûmipasya samare (saṃ)khyâm atîto jitaḥ |
Yasmi(n bhańgam u)pâgate diśi diśi trâsât kar âgra -cyutair
ggrâmîṇâḥ sva-gṛhâṇi kunta-nikaraiḥ saṃcchâdayâṃcakrire ||
(I. A., Vol. XV, p. 36, v. 10,)

Notwithstanding his failure to bring the Gwalior chief under his control, Bhoja succeeded at any rate in forcing his way through to the kingdom of Kanauj. There he fell upon the Pratihâras, whose king at that time was probably Yaśaḥpâla, and won so decisive a victory that the dominion of the Pratihâras was completely extinguished, never to recover, and its place was taken by that of the Paramâras. The Udayapur praśasti tells us that[1] Bhoja conquered the lord of Cedi, Indraratha, Toggala (?), Bhîma, Karṇâṭas, the lord of Lâṭa, the king of the Gurjaras, and the Turuṣkas. The Bhîma mentioned here was evidently the Cauḷukya king of Gujarat; hence the king of the Gurjaras referred to in the same connection, may be taken to mean some other ruling chief, who is to be identified with the Pratihâra prince of Kanauj. Merutuṅga[2] also gives a hint of Bhoja's victory over the king of the same country.

Kanauj did not, however, long remain under the control of the Paramâras. It was subsequently taken by the Kalacuri Karṇa. In the latter part of the 11th century A. D., the Gâhaḍavâlas under Candradeva established their sovereignty over it. The Basahi plate of Govindacandra, dated V. S. 1161=1104 A. D., states that,[3] "in the lineage named Gâhaḍavâla there was a victorious king, the son of Mahiala, named Candradeva, who, when on the death of king Bhoja and king Karṇa,

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 19. 2 Prabandhacintâmaṇi p. 44.

3 Yâte śrî-Bhoja-bhûpe vivu(bu)dha-vara-vadhû-netra
-sîmâ-tithitvaṃ
śrî-Karṇṇe kîrtti-śeṣam gatavati ca nṛpe kṣmâtyaye
jâyamâne |
bharttâraṃ yam va (dha)ritrî tri-diva-vibhu-nibhaṃ prîti
-yogâd upetâ
trâtâ viśvâsa-pûrvvam samabhavad iha sa kṣamâ-patiś
Candradevaḥ ||

the world became troubled, came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kanyâkubja." If this verse is read in the light of the information supplied by the Udayapur praśasti, it suggests that Bhoja established for a time some kind of political authority over Kanauj. At the close of his reign the country passed under the sway of Karṇa, after whose death anarchy and disorder prevailed there, until Candradeva of the Gâhaḍavâla dynasty assumed the sovereignty and succeeded in restoring peace and order.

Dviṣat-kṣitibhṛtaḥ sarvvân vidhâya vivaśân vaśe ।
Kanyâkubje 'karod râjâ râjadhânîm aniṃditâṃ ॥
(I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 103, lines 3, 4, 5.)

Bhoja died some time before 1055 A. D., after which, no doubt, there was turmoil and disorder in the Malwa country. But with the accession of Jayasiṃha, about 1055 A. D., all disturbances subsided for some years. The Kalacuri Karṇa, to whom the inscription certainly refers, died in 1072 A. D., and was peacefully succeeded by his son Yaśaḥkarṇa. In these circumstances the statement of the poet referring to anarchy and disorder bears true significance, if the word "Dharitrî" mentioned above is taken to mean the kingdom of Kanauj. We have evidence to prove that in ancient Indian records the term "world" or "earth" was sometimes used to indicate a particular territory. In the Vasantgadh inscription of Pûrṇapâla Mount Abu is described as the bhûmaṇḍalam (*i. e.* earth) (E. I., Vol. IX, p. 13, v. 8.). In the Udayapur praśasti Dhârâ is described as the earth (E. I., Vol. I, p. 236, v. 21). The subject is made more clear by the statement of the inscription that Candradeva came to the rescue of the earth and became king, having established his capital at Kanauj. We know that Candradeva ruled only over a small territory around Kanauj. According to the information of the inscription the anarchy broke out in the earth. *i. e.* in Kanauj, after the death of Bhoja and Karṇa. Here the earth evidently means Kanauj. This suggests, though it does not definitely establish, that those two kings had some kind of political authority over Kanauj.

WAR WITH THE CHAMBA PRINCE.

In the course of his northern march Bhoja seems to have entered into a war with the ruling dynasty of Chamba, in the Punjab. In the Bhoja-carita a story runs that a "Yogi" (ascetic) from Kashmir came to Malwa, and, having transformed its ruler, Bhoja, into a parrot, himself became the king of Dhârâ. The enchanted prince, while flying in the forest of Candrâvatî, was caught by a Bhîl and was handed over to Candrasena, the king of that locality, who placed him under the care of his young daughter. The Yogi was subsequently killed by Candrasena, whereupon Bhoja regained[1] his human form and got back his throne. Major Tod remarks on this story that "if any historical fact is meant under this allegory, it would probably be that an invader from the north despoiled Bhojadeva of his kingdom, that he fled in disguise to the wilds, and was carried from his concealment by the wild tribes, and finally, through the daughter of Candrasena, obtained liberty and aid to regain his kingdom." It is not yet corroborated by any other evidence that Bhoja ever was deprived of his kingdom by any northern invader. Nor is anything known of the king Candrasena of Candrâvatî who is described as his contemporary. But it may be suggested that he came into conflict with a powerful chief of the Punjab. The Tilakwada copper -plate of Bhoja, dated 1047 A. D., informs us that the general Surâditya stabilised the royal fortune of Bhoja by slaughtering Sâhavâhana and others in battle.[2] No

1 T. R. A. S, Vol. I., p. 224.

2 Sâhavâhana-saṃgrâme anyeṣâm api bhûbhujâm ‖ hatvâ yodhâṃ (n ?) sthirâṃ lakṣmîṃ Bhojadeve cakâra yaḥ ‖ (Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, p. 324.)

king of the name of Sâhavâhana is yet known to have ruled quite contemporaneously with Bhoja. There was a family of princes who ruled over Chamba, in the Punjab, during the 11th century A. D.[1] The most powerful king of this dynasty was the Paramabhaṭṭâraka mahârâjâdhirâja-parameśvara-Sâlavâhanadeva, also known as Sâhilladeva, Sâla, Sahila and Soila, who assumed in addition the magnificent titles of Sâhasânka, Niśśaṅkamalla and Matamaṭasiṃha.[2] He defeated the Kîra forces, the lord of Durgara, and the Turuṣkas.[3] His allegiance was sought by the ruler of Trigarta, and he received homage from the lord of Kulûta[4]; but, as the Râjataraṅgiṇî informs us,[5] his power was checked by Ananta, the king of Kashmir. This happened between A. D. 1025 and 1031.[6] It makes Sâlavâhana a contemporary of Bhoja. It may be that he was identical with the Sâhavâhana of the Tilakwada inscription. Bhoja had close relations with Kashmir, which is on the northern border of Chamba.[7] As regards Sâlavâhana's further military exploits, the Chamba copper-plate states[8] that he "by destroying in Kurukṣetra the array of the elephants of his enemies, had acquired for himself the name of Karivarṣa." Kurukṣetra still retains its ancient name, and is a sacred place in the Karnal District, in the Punjab. Bhoja might have met with this Chamba prince on that historic battlefield. The fact

1 I. A., Vol. XVII, pp. 8-9
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Translated by Stein, Bk. VII, Vol. I, p. 218.
6 Cun. Geo., p. 162.
7 Chronicles of Kaśmîr (Râjataraṅgiṇî), Stein, Vol. I, p. 284.
8 I. A., Vol. XVII, p. 8.

that Surâditya claims to have stabilised the fortune of Bhoja by defeating Sâhavâhana suggests that his overlord had to suffer some preliminary reverses in the battle, though finally he emerged victorious.

WAR WITH THE CÂHAMÂNAS OF ŚÂKAMBHARÎ AND NADOL.

Bhoja's warlike activities on the north soon brought him into close contact with the Câhamânas of Śâkambharî, modern Ajmer. The king Vîryarâma, successsor of the Câhamâna Vâkpati II, was then on the throne of that country. Bhoja attacked him and inflicted a severe blow to his military power. The Pṛthvîrâjavijaya tells us that the glory of Vîryarâma was destroyed by Bhoja of Avanti.[1] This brilliant success over the main branch of the Câhamânas encouraged Bhoja to turn his arms against their collateral branch, holding sway over southern Marwar. After Vâkpati-Muñja's defeat at the hand of the Câhamâna Balirâja, there was for sometime a cessation of hostilities between the two families. Balirâja was followed by Mahindu, Aśvapâla, and Ahila.[2] These princes, though ruling only over a small territory, maintained a military force strong enough to cope successfully with their ambitious neighbours. Ahila succeeded in routing an army of Bhîma of Gujarat.[3] His successor, Anahilla, repelled a second invasion of the same Caulukya monarch and distinguished himself by the conquest of Śâkambharî.[4] He had now to face

1 Agamyo yo narendrâṇâṃ sudhâ-dîdhiti-suṃdaraḥ
Jaghne yaśacayo yaś ca Bhojen Âvanti bhûbhujâ ॥
(5th Sarga, v. 67).

2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 71.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

the formidable forces of the Paramâras. Fortune was no more favourable to Bhoja than it had been to his uncle, Muñja. He was defeated and his general Śâḍha, lost his life in the encounter.[1]

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

Bhoja's struggle with the Caulukyas of Gujarat was a protracted one. The signal discomfiture of his father, Sindhurâja, by the Caulukya Câmuṇḍarâja undoubtedly left a deep impression on his mind. In the early years of his reign an untoward event soon entangled him in a fresh quarrel with that monarch. Hemacandra tells us that[2] *once Câmuṇḍarâja, being penitent for committing* incest with his own daughter, Câciṇî Devî, entrusted the charge of the government to his eldest son, Vallabharâja, and set out for Kâśî (Benares) on a pilgrimage for the expiation of his sin. On his way, to his abject humiliation, the Râjâ of Malwa forced him to give up all the insignia of royalty. He assumed a mendicant's garb and proceeded on his awy. But, having accomplished his object at the holy place, he returned to Anhilwar and lost no time in impressing on his son the necessity for strong action against the insolent Râjâ af Malwa. Vallabharâja accordingly marched forth with a large army to take revenge upon his father's enemy. On his way he was met by a number of other kings bringing him valuable gifts, and, in accordance with their advice, he pursued his journey by the route through the Kuntaladeśa, and thereby avoided the difficulty of crossing the two rivers Pârâpârâ and Sindhusindhu ; but

1 Dṛṣṭaḥ kair na caturbhujaḥ sa samare Śâkaṃbharîṃ yo va-(ba)lâj jagrâhânu jaghâna Mâlava-Pater Bhojasya Sâḍhâvayaṃ. |
(E. I., Vol IX, p. 75, v. 17.)

2 Dvyâśraya, seventh Sarga, pp. 521 ff.

unfortunately for him, he fell a victim to a serious type of smallpox before he reached Malwa. The efforts of his physicians were in vain, and when it was quite evident that he had no chance of recovery, he left instructions to his generals to stay their advance and return to Gujarat. They accordingly marched back to Anhilwar after the death of their beloved master (1010 A.D.). Câmuṇḍarâja received the news with deep sorrow and retired to Śukla Tîrtha (near Broach), on the banks of the Narmada, entrusting the government to his second son, Durlabharâja.[1]

The fact of Vallabharâja's march against the Malwa king is also contained in an epigraphic record, which was issued about the time when the Dvyâśraya was composed. It says that,[2] "from him (*i. e.* Câmuṇḍarâja) was born a crest-jewel among princes, named Vallabharâja, who astonished the circle of the earth by his bold deeds. Densely dark smoke, rising from the empire of the Mâlava king, who quaked on hearing of his marching, indicated the spread of the fire of his anger."

Merutuṅga also corroborates this event by stating that the king died of smallpox, while investing the

1 Merutuṅga gives an exactly similar account in his Prabandhacintâmaṇi. But according to him, the Malwa king, Muñja, humiliated the Cauḷukya Durlabharâja. This cannot be maintained in view of the fact that Durlabharâja's accession took place more than a decade after Muñja's death (Prabandha°, p. 30).

2 Tasmâd Vallabharâja ity abhidhayâ kṣmâpâla-cûḍâmanir
jajñe sâhasa-karma-nimita-camatkâra-kṣamâ-maṇḍalo
yat-kopânala-jṛmbhitaṃ piśunayâ tat-saṃprayâna-śruti
-kṣubhyan-Mâlava-bhûpa-cakra-vikasan-mâlinya
-dhûmodgamaḥ ॥

Read-nirmita° ; piśunayatyetatprayâṇa°.

(E. I., Vol. I, p. 297, v. 7.)

fortifications of Dhârâ, in the country of Mâlava.[1] Arisiṃha's "Sukṛta-saṃkîrtana"[2] and Jayasiṃha's "Sukṛta-kîrtti-kallolinî"[3] celebrate this fact as a victory of Vallabharâja over the Malwa king. The Malwa king, referred to by all these authorities, was evidently Bhoja.

Hemacandra also relates[4] Bhoja's encounter with Durlabharâja (1010-1022 A. D.), the immediate successor of Vallabharâja. On this occasion, the cause of the quarrel is described as quite different from that which induced Vallabharâja to invade Malwa. It is narrated that Mahendrarâja, the king of Nadûladeśa (Nadol), arranged a "Svayaṃvara" assembly, for the selection of a bridegroom for his sister, Durlabha-devî. Besides Durlabharâja, the king of Gujarat, the rulers of Aṅga-deśa, of Kâśî, of Ujjayinî, of Kurudeśa, of Mathurâdeśa and of Andhradeśa were present in the assembly. From among them all, the princess selected the king of Gujarat as her future husband. This made the other chiefs extremely jealous, and later, when the bride and bride-groom were proceeding towards Paṭṭana (Anhilwar), they fell upon them and attacked them murderously. But fortunately their malice was frustrated by the powerful Gujarat army, to which the Râjâ of Aṅgadeśa is said to have submitted, while, of his companions, the Râjâ of Malwa threw down his weapons, the Râjâ of Hûṇadeśa took to flight, the Mathurârâja left the battle-field to call to his assistance the Turuṣkas and the mountaineers,

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 29.
2 Sarga II, v. 13.
3 Yaḥ śrî-Mâlava-bhûpa-bhâla-phalaka-prasveda-bindu-cchala-pratyagra-prathita-praśasti-vikasad-dor-vikramopakramaḥ ॥ (Sukṛta-kîrtti-kallolinî, v. 32.)
4 Dvyâśraya, Sarga VII, pp. 547 ff.

the Râjâ of Andhradeśa was wounded, and the Râjâs of Kuru and Kâśî fled away disgraced. After this victory Durlabharâja marched to his capital in great triumph with his newly-won bride.

The Râjâ of Malwa, referred to above, was, in all probability, Bhoja. The Nadol king, Mahendra, who is mentioned in the Sundha hill-inscription [1] as Mahindu, was a contemporary of both Durlabha and Bhoja.[2] Though there is no chronological inaccuracy, the story seems to be an imaginary one.

Hemacandra does not enlighten us with any information regarding Bhoja's fight with Bhîma, the successor of Durlabharâja. But we have ample authentic evidence to prove that they were, for a long time, at enmity with each other. Merutuṅga informs us [3] that at first there was a close alliance between these two monarchs, but, later on, Bhoja renewed hostilities by waging a war of aggression against the Anhilwar government. Once, while the country of Gujarat was on the verge of famine owing to the want of rain, he made extensive preparations to invade it. Bhîma's agent, Dâmara, succeeded in averting the danger by a diplomatic move. But this only postponed the immediate outbreak of hostilities, and subsequent events enabled Bhoja to carry out his original project of invading the kingdom of the Cauḷukyas. On one occasion, Bhîma proceeded to the Punjab, and, crossing the lower Indus, attacked Sind.[4] The king of that country, Hammuka, was not

1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 71.

2 Mahendra's predecessor, Balirâja, was a contemporary of Muñja (A. D. 972-995). This places the reign of Mahendra in the early part of the 11th century A. D.

3 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 41.

4 Ibid., pp. 46-47.

strong enough to withstand the army of the Caulukyas, and submitted to the invaders. But while Bhîma was thus acquiring high distinction in the north-west by the display of his military qualities, his kingdom of Gujarat was threatened by an invasion of the Paramâras. Merutuṅga tells us[1] that, taking advantage of his absence from Gujarat at the time when he was fighting in Sind, Bhoja despatched his general, Kulacandra, to ravage Anhilwar. Kulacandra sacked the imperial city, sowed shell-money at the gate of the clock-tower of the royal palace, and extorted a record of victory from the government. The loss to the Caulukyas was so great that the "sacking of Kulacandra" has passed into a proverb. On his return to Malwa, he was severely blamed by Bhoja, in whose opinion he ought to have sown charcoal. The above report of Merutuṅga is not corroborated in detail by any other authority. Bhoja's victory over Bhîma is described by the Udayapur praśasti.

After his return from Sind, Bhîma seems to have set himself entirely to the destruction of the power of Bhoja. Since the conquest of Mount Abu by Muñja, the princes of a junior branch of the main Paramâra family had been conducting its administration. Probably as a preliminary to his attack on the central government of Dhârâ, Bhîma directed his forces against Bhoja's feudatory, Dhandhu, the then Paramâra ruler of Abu. Dhandhu was no match for the vast Caulukya army, and, being hard pressed, fled to Malwa to the protection of Bhoja.[2] Mount Abu was easily conquered by Bhîma, who then incorporated it into his own kingdom.[3] A distinguished personage, named Vimala, was appointed

1 Prabandha° p. 46 ; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 163-64.
2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 151.
3 Ibid.

to govern the province as his viceroy, who built there a temple of Âdinâtha in Vikrama saṃvat 1088 = 1031 A. D.[1]

The loss of Abu by Dhandhu evidently implied the loss of control over it by the Paramâras of Malwa. Hence Bhoja did not allow the incident to pass unnoticed He took up the cause of Dhandhu, and strained every nerve to recover the lost province. Bhîma was eventually forced to withdraw, and the authority of the Paramâras was re-established there. A general description of Bhoja's glorious victory over this cauḷukya king is given in the Udayapur praśasti.[2] Though at present there is no direct evidence to prove that he wrested Mount Abu from the Cauḷukyas, the fact that Dhandhu's son and successor, Pûrṇapâla, was ruling over it in the middle of the 11th century A. D., quite independently of Gujarat,[3] leads us to that conclusion. It was quite impossible for either Dhandhu or Pûrṇapâla to recover their paternal throne from Bhîma without external aid.

The latter part of Bhoja's reign was as unhappy and inglorious as those of his predecessors Muñja and Sindhurâja. Incessant wars with his neighbours wore out his military strength, and it was further weakened by the terrible blow inflicted on it by the Karṇâṭa king, Someśvara, shortly after 1044 A. D. Someśvara, as has been said already, ravaged Malwa, plundered its capital, and forced Bhoja to flee. After this, the country was exposed to the occasional attacks of marauding bands of foreign soldiers. The extent of lawlessness that prevailed there during this period can well be estimated from the narrative of Merutuṅga. It is said that,[4] on one

1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 151.
2 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 235.
3 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 11.
4 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 73-75.

occasion, when Bhoja went to pay his devotions to his family goddess in the outskirts of the city of Dhârâ, he was attacked by a roving band of Gujarati soldiers, and, being taken unawares by this unexpected incident, immediately galloped back to the city. As he was passing through the main gate, two Gujarati cavalrymen, named Âlûya and Akolûya, blocked his way, but nothing untoward happened and he escaped unhurt.

This disordered state of things came at length to its logical conclusion. Bhoja grew old, and his days were numbered. There was no one in the royal family strong enough to control the situation. And just at this critical moment, says Merutuṅga, Bhîma entered into an alliance with the Kalacuri Karṇa for the invasion of Malwa. It was stipulated in their agreement that, in case of victory, they should divide the conquered territory between them in equal shares. The allied forces advanced towards Malwa under the leadership of the two most eminent generals of the age. In this difficult position, Bhoja, though dejected and disheartened, made all possible arrangements for a suitable defence. Unfortunately, however, he was overcome by a bodily malady, and died in the midst of the war. His successor, Jayasiṃha, could not withstand the onslaught of the attacking forces, and surrendered to them.

The whole kingdom of the Paramâras now lay prostrate before Bhîma and Karṇa, who marched triumphantly into the royal city of Dhârâ.

The above account given by Merutuṅga finds corroboration, in its main outlines, in many ancient records. The Vadnagar praśasti[1] of the reign of the

1 Bhîmo 'pi dviṣatâṃ sadâ praṇayinâṃ bhogyatvam-âsedivân
Kṣoṇî-bhâram idam babhâra nṛpati(ḥ) Śrî-Bhîmadevo nṛpaḥ ‖

Caulukya KumârapÂla states that Bhîma was terrible to his enemies and loving to his friends. "What wonder was there that his horses, supremely skilled in accomplish -ing the five paces (called dhârâ), quickly gained Dhârâ, the capital of the emperor of Mâlava ?" Someśvara in his Kîrti-kaumudî says that [1] Bhîma vanquished Bhoja, king of Dhârâ, and spared his life. The Sukṛta-saṃkîrtana [2] narrates Bhoja's defeat at the hand of Bhîma. Jayasiṃhadeva records that [3] before the greatness of Bhîma the arm of Bhoja faded away like the lotus. Merutuṅga further tells us that [4] after the conquest of Malwa, Karṇa incorporated the whole of it into his own kingdom, without giving any share to Bhîma. But the Caulukya king, through his agent, Dâmara, forced the Kalacuri chief to surrender to him a golden shrine and an image of Śiva. Hemacandra mentions nothing about the battle between Bhoja and Bhîma, but partly corroborates the above statement of Merutuṅga by relating that Karṇa defeated Bhoja, king of Mâlava, and, being hard pressed by Bhîma's agent, Dâmodara, surrendered to him the "maṇḍapîkâ", which he took from Bhoja. [5]

Thus ended the long career of Bhoja, admittedly a king of superior merit and rare valour. There is no doubt that he had to pass through many vicissitudes, yet the fact that he was a military leader of a high order admits

Dhârâ-paṃcaka-sâdhanaika-caturais tad-vâjibhiḥ sâdhitâ
Kṣipraṃ Mâlava-cakravartti-nagarî Dhâreti ko vismayaḥ ॥
(E. I., Vol. I, p. 297, v. 9.)

1 Sarga II, vv. 16-18.
2 Ibid., vv. 17-20.
3 Kumârapâla-carita, v. 34.
4 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 74-75.
5 Dvyâśraya, Sarga IX, v. 57, p. 692.

of no question. The power of his mighty arm was felt by the Karṇâṭas and Śilâhâras on the south, the Cedis on the east, and the Caulukyas on the west. His valiant soldiers made a triumphant march through Kanauj and Ajmer on the north. Merutuṅga relates that[1] when Bhoja went out for conquests

"The Coḷa king enters the bosom of the sea, the Andhra king repairs to a hole in a mighty mountain ;

"The king of Karṇâṭa does not wear his turban, the king of Gujarat frequents the mountain torrents ;

"Cedi, that warlike monarch, flickers with weapons ; the king of Kânyakubja is here bent double."

"The bards sang before the king

"O Bhoja, all the kings are distracted with the burden of the fear of the advance of thy army only.

"On the floor of thy prison, the angry wrangle about place on which to lay their beds,

"Has increased in the night among these mutual rivals who thus dispute,

"The king of Koṇkaṇa sleeps in the corner, Lâṭa near the door, Kaliṅga in the courtyard ;

"'You are a new arrival, Kośala ; my father also used to abide on this level spot.'......"

This description, though poetic in expression, contains a great deal of truth. A brief survey of the king's military career will show that he came into conflict with almost all the chiefs referred to in the above verse. His successes in the early years of his reign were sweeping, and put him into possession of vast territories.

Great as were Bhoja's military successes, his attainments in the peaceful arts are even more to be admired. His versatile mind did not limit its activity only to the business of war ; it was directed also towards building

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 44.

up in Malwa an ideal kingdom. Schools were established for the proper education of his subjects. [1] Sufficient emoluments and bounties were granted to those who devoted their lives to the cultivation of literary science. He himself was a great poet, and spent his days in the company of erudite scholars. [2] He was beloved by all the literary men of his age, and his unbounded liberality gave them fresh encouragement to pursue their work. The great poet Bilhaṇa lamented his failure to meet with him, and felt it in the very core of his heart. This he expressed through the following verse, in the Vikramâṅkadeva-carita. [3]

"Assuming a voice in the cooing of the pigeons that nested on the lofty turrets of her gates, Dhârâ, as it were, cried piteously in disguise; 'Bhoja is my king. He, forsooth, is none of the vulgar princes. Woe is to me!' Why didst thou not come into his presence?"

Bhoja's activities in the field of architecture also deserve special notice. The Udayapur praśasti [4] credits him with the building of a large number of temples. To-day very few remains of his extensive work can be traced, owing to the fact that, since the final conquest of Malwa by the Moslems, a large number of ancient Hindu temples have been converted into mosques by the new rulers.

1 Vide post, Chapter VIII.

2 Ibid.

3 Bhojaḥ kṣmâ-bhṛt sa khalu na khalais tasya sâmyam narendrais
tat-pratyakṣam kim iti bhavatâ nâgataṃ hâ hatâsmi |
Yasya dvâroḍḍamara-śikhara kroḍa-pârâvatânâṃ
nâda-vyâjâd iti sakaruṇaṃ vyâja-hâreva Dhârâ ||
(Vikramâṅkadeva-carita, Sarga XVIII, v. 96.)

4 E. I., Vol. I, p. 238, v. 20; vide post, Chapter VIII.

Malwa enjoyed a happy existence during this period. The people passed their days in joy and merriment. Firishta tells us that,[1] "twice yearly Raja Bhoja kept a great feast which lasted forty days, during which all the most celebrated dancers and singers of Hindoostan being assembled, he distributed food and wine ; and at the end of the feast new clothes and ten miskals were presented to each guest."

Bhoja was well known for his munificence and liberality. In his Ujjain plate[2] he lays down the following maxim, which seems to have been the motto of his life :

"Of wealth, which is as fleeting as a flash of lightning or a bubble of water, there are two good fruits or uses, and only two : one is its employment in charities and the other is the maintenance thereby of other men's fame."

All this speaks for the broadness of his mind. As a conqueror, as a poet, and as a builder of architecture, he deserves a high place among the sovereigns of ancient India. As a benevolent monarch he had hardly any parallel. He left behind him an abiding impression that survives even to this day.

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1 Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, Introduction, p. lxxvi,

2 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 55.

CHAPTER V.

FROM JAYASIṂHA TO JAYAVARMAN

It has been seen in the foregoing chapter that Bhoja fell ill, and died suddenly in the midst of his war with the combined forces of the Kalacuris and the Cauḷukyas. His enemies captured the imperial city of Dhârâ, and held it for some time by their superior force. Jayasiṃha, Bhoja's successor, had no chance of regaining his throne with the petty resources at his disposal, unless he could secure adequate reinforcements from outside. During this period Someśvara I of Karṇâṭa, who commanded a vast military force, was the only king who could render any effective assistance to him in this difficulty; and Jayasiṃha, therefore, putting aside all racial jealousies and family pride, sought his aid.[1] Though the old sore caused by the constant enmity between the Câḷukyas and the Paramâras was still unhealed, Someśvara deemed it politic to take up the cause of the dethroned Paramâra chief. He probaly thought that the extinction of the Paramâra government in Malwa would rather help his two neighbours to strengthen their arms, which might in the near future be raised against himself. Karṇa had already sent his general, Vapullaka,[2] to make conquests for him to the south of the Narmada, and this valiant officer within a short space of time, scored a great success by the conquest of the Śvetapâda country (between the years 1051 and 1061 A. D.), and of the province of Lâṭa.[3] It was quite apparent that the next victim of his attack would be the Câḷukya kingdom of

1 Vikramâṅkadeva-carita, Sarga III, v. 67.

2 Memoirs A. S. I., No. 23, p. 132.

3 Ibid.

the Deccan. Someśvara, therefore, sent his son, Vikramâditya, a distinguished general, with a large army to help the cause of Jayasiṃha. After a hard contest the Câlukya prince succeeded in routing Karṇa and Bhîma, and drove them from the Land of Malwa, establishing Jayasiṃha once more on his throne.[1] Thus, after suffering a temporary collapse, the Paramâra government reasserted itself, though bereft of its pristine glory.

JAYASIṂHA I

Two inscriptions of Jayasiṃha's reign have been discovered.

(i) The Mandhata plates[2] were issued from the royal camp itself at Dhârâ, on the 13th of the dark half of Âṣâḍha of the year Saṃ 1112, corresponding to 1055 A.D Jayasiṃha records in it the grant of the village Bhîma of the Maktula (group of) forty-two in the Pûrṇapathaka maṇḍala, for the maintenance of the Brahmans of the paṭṭaśâlâ at the holy Amareśvara. Of the localities, Amareśvara is evidently the modern place of pilgrimage of the same name near the island of Mandhata, on the south bank of the Narmada, in the Nimar District. As for Pûrṇapathaka maṇḍala, I suggest that it was a province bounded by the Purna, a tributary of the Tapti river. The rest of the localities cannot be identified.

(ii) The Panhera inscription[3] was issued by Jayasiṃha's feudatory, Maṇḍalika, who had been governing the country of Vâgaḍa. It is dated V.S. 1116 (1059 A.D.).

1 Sa Mâlavendum śaraṇaṃ praviṣṭam akaṇṭake sthâpayati sma râjye ।
kanyâ-pradâna-cchalataḥ kṣitîśâḥ sarvasva-dânaṃ bahavo 'sya cakruḥ ॥
(Vikramâṅkadeva-carita, Sarga III, v. 67.)

2 E. I., Vol. III, p. 46.

3 A. S. I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19. (unpublished.)

WAR WITH KANHA.

Sometime before 1059 A. D. Jayasiṃha had to encounter a hostile force, which was led by a general named Kanha. He, however, succeeded in routing the enemy with the help of his feudatory Maṇḍalika.[1] The Panhera inscription[2] relates that Maṇḍalika captured in battle the commander Kanha with all his horses and elephants, and handed them over to Jayasiṃha. It is not yet known whose military officer was Kanha.

INVASION OF VEṄGI AND WAR WITH THE COḶAS.

Jayasiṃha, having regained his throne with the assistance of the Câḷukyas, became a staunch adherent to their government. In the sixth and seventh decades of the eleventh century A. D., the Câḷukyas were in constant war with their southern neighbours.[3] Vikram-âditya (VI) was at that time the governor of Banavâsî, and was deputed by his father to protect the interests of his empire in the south. The Eastern Câḷukya Râjarâja, the king of Veṅgi, died in 1062 A. D. His son Râjendra II (later on Kulottuṅga Coḷa I) was too young to govern his kingdom. Vikramâditya intended to avail himself of this opportunity of conquering Veṅgi and organised a vast army for that purpose. Jayasiṃha, who was indebted to Vikramâditya for his past services, seems to have joined him in this expedition in order to help his cause. The allied armies advanced towards Veṅgi and threatened the Eastern Câḷukyas. The young

1 Vide post, chapter X.

2 A. S. I., 1916-17, p. 19.

3 Ancient India, by K. S. Aiyangar, pp. 120 ff., Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 441 ; S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 193.

Râjendra could not resist their onslaught, and Veṅgi fell in the hand of Vikramâditya and Jayasiṃha. In that predicament Vijayâditya VII, the younger brother of the deceased Râjarâja, took up the cause of his nephew, and appealed to Coḷa Vîrarâjendra (A. D. 1062 - 1069) for assistance. The Coḷa king responded to his prayer and marched towards Veṅgi at the head of a large army. He confronted his enemies on the bank of the Kistna near Bezwada (Viśaiyavâḍai). In the action that followed the Karṇâṭas and the Paramâras were severely worsted, and the brother of Jayasiṃha with many other generals lost their lives. Veṅgi was reconquered by the Coḷas, and Vîrarâjendra appointed Vijayâditya to rule it on behalf of Râjendra Coḷa.[1] The Tiruvengadu inscription[2] of the second year of the reign of Vîra-râjendra tells us that he defeated the army sent into Veṅgai nâḍu by Vikramâditya. The Koruvur inscription[3] of the fourth year of his reign records that he despatched the (banner of) the ferocious tiger into all directions and cut off the beautiful heads, surrounded by garlands (won) on battlefields, of Vâran, of the Kerala, (who wore) large ankle rings, and of the younger brother of Ja(na)nâtha of Dhârâ The Manimangalam inscription[4] of the fifth year (1067 A. D.) of his reign gives us a more detailed information. It states that 'having moved (his camp), he declared—'we shall not return without regaining the good country of Veṅgai, which (we have formerly) subdued. You,[5] (who are) strong, come and defend (it) if (you) are able !'—That army

1 S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 193.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid, p. 37.
4 Ibid., p. 69.
5 This is addressed to the kings who held Veṅgi.

which had for its chiefs Jananâthan, the daṇḍanâyaka Râjamayan, whose mast elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparaśan'.

Jananâtha, referred to above, is in all probability Jayasiṃha, who was at that time on the throne of Dhârâ.[1] The daṇḍanâyaka Râjamayan and Mupparaśan, with whom Jananâtha joined in their expedition against Veṅgi, seem to have been officers of Vikramâditya VI.

WAR WITH THE CAUḶUKYAS AND THE KARṆÂṬAS.

In the latter part of his reign Jayasiṃha had to encounter another catastrophe which again swept away his throne, and overthrew the Paramâra government. After the death of the Câḷukya Someśvara I, his son Bhuvanaikamalla Someśvara II ascended the throne of Kalyani in 1069 A. D. He soon entered into a quarrel with his younger brother Vikramâditya.[2] When the Câḷukya empire was threatened with a fratricidal war, Jayasiṃha turned against Someśvara II, and probably intrigued with Vikramâditya for the overthrow of the Câḷukya king. This seems to have provoked Semeśvara to declare war against Malwa. He made an alliance with Karṇa (A. D. 1063-1094), the successor of Bhîma I, on the throne of Gujarat for the destruction of the

1 In the ancient Tamil records the northern names were often distorted to a considerable extent. Kaliṅgattu-paraṇi mentions Vikramâditya VI as Virudarâja (I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 332). He is described in the Karuvur inscription (S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 37) as Vikkalan along with Jananâtha of Dhârâ, and in the Manimangalam inscription as Vikki (ibid, p. 56, l. 3). Jayasiṃha, the younger brother of Vikramâditya VI, is mentioned in the Tiruvallam inscription as Śiṅgaṇaṇ (ibid. p. 118).

2 Vikrâmaṅkadeva-carita, Introduction, p. 33, Edited by Bühler,

Paramâra sovereignty, and in order to help him in his military operation despatched his general, Gaṅga Udayâditya, and his feudatory, Hoysaḷa Eṛeyaṇga with a large contingent. Jayasiṃha made a strenuous effort to defend his kingdom against this incursion of Karṇa and the Karṇâṭas but utterly failed. In the fierce battle that followed he lost his life, and Malwa was easily conquered by the invaders. The Cauḷukyas together with the Karṇâṭas took possession of the Imperial city of Dhârâ, and there unfurled again the glorious banner of victory. The Nagpur Praśasti[1] gives an account of Jayasiṃha's death in the battle, and the conquest of Mâlava by the combined forces of Karṇa and the Karṇâṭas. An inscription from Sudi describes Someśvara II as "a blazing fire to the ocean that is the race of the Mâlavyas". A stone inscription from Balagami,[2] dated Śaka 993 = 1071 A. D., reports of the daṇḍanâyaka Udayâditya that, 'completely defeating the Mâlava king who had raised his enmity, and all those who had secretly conspired against the throne and against the master, and seizing their property and women laden with jewels he handed them over to his emperor (Someśvara II)'. An inscription,[3] dated 1100 A. D., of the reign of Eṛeyaṅga, records that he defeated a host of kings between the Hima mountain and Setu at the bidding of the Câḷukya emperor. "With the hot rage in Nannuge's breast as the witness of fire, and by means of Dhârâ (otherwise, with the pouring of water) he suddenly wedded the goddess of Valour—the brave Poysaḷa king. As the maṇḍapa was consumed in the burning of the

1 E. I., Vol. II, p. 185.

2 Mysore Inscription, p. 164, P. S. O. C. A., No. 160.

3 E. C., Vol. V, AK, No. 120a, p. 152. For Eṛeyaṅga's date, vide post.

Khâṇḍava (forest), so the fire of the Poysaḷa king's glory sprang up in the Vindhya mountains and seized the city of Udhapuram of his enemies."

Udhapuram may be the same as Udayapur, in the Gwalior State, Central India.

The Shimoga Taluq inscription,[1] dated about 1112 A.D., of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana states that his father Ereyaṅga was a right hand to the Câḷukya king. "Trampling down the Mâlava army, he did not spare Dhârâ, but burnt and scattered it." Another inscription,[2] dated 1161 A. D., of the same prince records that "while Câḷukya was looking on, Ereyaṅga without effort plundered the Mâlava king's hill fort, which was too strong for the Câḷukyas." A third inscription,[3] dated 1164 A. D., of the reign of Narasiṃha, registers the fact that "Ereyaṅga subdued with his army the great Dhârâ, the chief place in the Mâlava kingdom, and thus conferred victory on (his) emperor."

The Belur copper-plate[4] of the Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana, dated 1117 A. D., records that Ereyaṅga, in a conquest of the North, captured Dhârâ, the stronghold of the lords of Mâlava, which had been rendered prosperous by king Bhoja. An inscription,[5] dated 1159 A. D., of the Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha I, the successor of Viṣṇuvardhana, corroborates this fact by stating that Ereyaṅga

1 E. C., Vol. VII, Sh, No. 64, p. 24.

2 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 163, AK, No. 117.

3 Ibid., Vol. IV, part II, p. 119.

4 Dhârâ-dhâro bhuja-balavatâṃ Mâlavâdhiśvarâṇâṃ
Bhojenaujo-vijita-ripuṇâ varddhitâ yâ prasiddhâ |
sâbûd âpośanam ahita-bhû-bhojane yasya pûrvvaṃ
Kauberâśâ-vijaya-samaye varṇṇyate kim sa vîraḥ ||
(Ibid., Vol. V, p. 26, Hn, No. 53.)

5 Ibid., Vol. II, No. 349.

burnt in a moment Dhârâ, the capital of the Mâlava king.

As regards the Caulukya Karṇa, the Pṛthvîrâja-vijaya [1] tells us that he conquered Mâlava. Arisiṃha reports that [2] Karṇa defeated the Mâlava king and his army, and despoiled him of an image of Nîlakaṇtha (Śiva). Someśvara also relates about karṇa's conquest of Mâlava. He narrates that [3] 'when the territory of the king of

1 Sarga V.

2 Sukṛtasaṃkîrtana, Sarga II, v. 23.

Professor Kielhorn thinks that Karṇa, mentioned in the Nagpur praśasti, is the Kalacuri king of the same name (E. I., Vol. II, p. 181.). This is not corroborated by any evidence. If the subject is viewed in the light of the Pṛthvîrâja-vijaya, Sukṛtasaṃkîrtana and Surathotsava, Karṇa's identification with the Caulukya king of the same name seems more plausible. But there is one apparent difficulty in accepting it quite unreservedly. Merutuṅga says that the Caulukya Karṇa ascended the throne in 1063 A. D. A fragmentary inscription, dated 1513 A. D. (J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35), states that Udayâditya built the temple of Udayapur in V. S. 1116=1059 A. D. The record is very perfunctorily executed, and abounds in gross mistakes. If Udayâditya is supposed to have ascended the throne of Mâlava, having defeated the Caulukya Karṇa, he cannot be taken to have ruled in 1059 A. D. as a sovereign lord, because Karṇa had not yet assumed the kingly power. This difficulty can be surmounted by assuming that Udayâditya built the Udayapur temple in 1059 A. D., when he was ruling his paternal territory apparently from Udayapur. That he did not assume the sovereignty of Malwa in 1059 A. D. can be gathered from the Panhera inscription, which reports that at that time Jayasiṃha was ruling over it.

3 Dhârâdhîśa-purodhasâ nija-nṛpa-kṣoṇîṃ vilokyâkhilâṃ
Caulukyâkulitâṃ tad-atyaya-kṛte kṛtyâ kilotpâditâ ।
maṃtrair yasya tapasyataḥ pratihatâ tatraiva taṃ mâṃtrikaṃ
sâ saṃhṛtya taḍil-latâ taruṃ iva kṣipraṃ prayâtâ kvacit ॥
(Surathotsava,kavi-praśasti, v. 20).

Dhârâ was overrun by the Caulukyas, the former's chaplain called up by incantations an evil spirit for the destruction of his master's enemy. But Âma, the chaplain of Karṇa, succeeded by counter incantations in turning back the evil spirit against the conjuror, who was instantaneously killed by it.'

UDAYÂDITYA.

The Paramâras thus again lost their supremacy almost before they recovered from the shock they had received more than a decade previously. But in these dark days there was one ray of light on the eastern horizon, which gradually expanded, and dispersed all the black clouds from the sky of Malwa. Udayâditya, a scion of a junior branch of the Paramâras, stood gallantly for the liberation of his ancestral dominion. In those perilous hours he appealed to the Câhamâna Durlabha III, the king of Śâkambharî, for assistance. After the discomfiture of the Câhamâna Vîryarâma by Bhoja, a friendly relation seems to have been established between the houses of Śâkambharî and Dhârâ. Hence Durlabha lost no time in sending a cavalry force to the assistance of the Paramâras. Udayâditya thus being sufficiently re-inforced fell upon the combined forces of the Caulukyas and the Karṇâṭas, and within a short time succeeded in regaining the country. The Pṛthvîrâja-vijaya [1] tells us that the Câhamâna Durlabha

1 Malaven Odayâdityenâsmâd evâpyatonnatiḥ
maṃdâkinî hradâd eva lebhe pûraṇam abdhinâ ॥ v. 76
sâraṃgâkhyaṃ turaṃgaṃ sa dadau yasmai manojavam
na hy uccaiḥśravasaṃ kṣîra-siṃdhor anyaḥ prayacchati ॥
v. 77
jigâya Gûrjaraṃ Karṇaṃ tamaśvaṃ prâpya Mâlavaḥ
labdhânûruḥ sûryarathaṃ(ḥ) karoti vyoma-laṃghanam ॥
Sarga V, v. 78

was the cause of the prosperity of Udayâditya of Mâlava. Udayâditya, having received cavalry from him defeated the Gurjara Karṇa, and obtained Mâlava. Udayapur praśasti tells us that[1] "when that devotee of Bharga (Śiva *i. e.* Bhoja), whose brilliance resembled that of the sun, had gone to the mansion of the gods, the earth, like Dhârâ, was filled with the dense darkness of his foes, (and) his hereditary warriors became infirm in body. Then arose king Udayâditya, as it were another sun, destroying the darkness of powerful foes, with the rays issuing from his sword, (and thus) gladdening the hearts of his people by his splendour. Lo! how easy was the rescue of this earth for that Paramâra, by whom the primeval boar was restored without difficulty."

The Nagpur inscription[2] makes matters clearer by stating that "when he (Bhoja) had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation, Udayâditya, became king. Uplifting the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa, who, joined by the Karṇâṭas, was like the mighty ocean, he acted like the holy Boar."

1 Tatr-âditya-pratâpe gatavati sadanaṃ Svarggiṇâṃ
Bhargga-bhakte
vyâptâ Dhâreva dhâtrî ripu-timira-bharair mmaula-lokas
tadâbhût ı
visrastâṃgo nihatyodbhaṭa-ripu-timiram khaḍga
daṃḍâṃśu jâlai—
r anyo bhâsvân-iv-odyan-dyutim udita janâtm
Odayâditya devaḥ ॥
(E. I., Vol. I, p. 236, V. 21; p. 238.)

2 Tasmin vâsava-va(ba)ndhutâm upagate râjye ca kulyâkule
magna-svâmini tasya va(ba)ndhur Udayâdityo' bhavad
bhûpatiḥ ı

It is evident from the above verses that the authority of the Paramâras in Malwa, though it received a severe blow at the hand of its foreign enemies, was soon revived by a hero known as Udayâditya. He is described in the Udayapur praśasti as a relation of Bhoja. An inscription[1] from Udayapur, in Bhilsa, furnishes us with more detailed information regarding his pedigree. It relates that there was a prince named Sauravira, (Śûravîra) a member of the Paramâra (Pâvara) family, who carved out a principality of his own in Mâlava. He was learned, pious, liberal, valiant, and possessed of both his own and his enemies' armies. His son was Gondala, who was a receptacle of noble qualities, devoted to the Gods, a conqueror of his enemies, and famous for his own deeds. His son was Gyâtâ (Jñâtâ), whose son again was Udayâditya, the great destroyer of the enemy (ari-bala-mathana), who, having obtained the eastern territory, proceeded to the interior of Mâlava,[2] which was formerly governed by his ancestors. The country was made glorious by him.[3]

yenoddhṛtya mahârṇṇavopama-milat-Karṇṇâṭa
-Karṇṇa-pra (bhu)
m urvvîpâla-kadarthitâṃ bhuvam imâṃ śrîmad
-Varâhâyi taṃ ||
(E. I., Vol. II, pp. 192, 185, v. 32.)

1 J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 549.

2 Mâlave madhya-deśaṃ gatvâ sthânaṃ prasidhiḥ......

3 The inscription under review was discovered in the Nîlakaṇṭheśvara temple, and is edited in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IX, p. 547. The editor takes "*Aribalamathana*" as a proper name, and makes its possesssor a successor of Gondala, omitting the name of Gyâtâ (Jñâtâ). He is further of opinion that Aribalamathana went to Mâlava and recovered Madhyadeśa, which had formerly been governed by his ancestors, and was later on usurped by the inimical râjâs. He was succeeded by his son, Udayâditya.

It follows from the above record that Udayâditya and his predecessors belonged to a junior branch of the Paramâra family. They seem to have been ruling as feudatories of the Imperial house of Dhârâ, in the east of Malwa, at Udayapur, in Bhilsa. When Malwa was overrun by the combined forces of the Caulukyas and the Karṇâṭas, and Jayasiṃha lost his life in battle against them, Udayâditya, as we have seen above, proved the saviour of the Paramâra kingdom, and entirely recovered it from the grip of the foreign armies. There was no other prince in the royal house of Dhârâ strong enough to hold the reins of government in that difficult situation. Hence the royal power was entrusted to Udayâditya, whose claim so evidently superseded that of all others. A faint recollection of this event has been embodied in the Âîn-i-Akbarî, though in a somewhat altered version. It runs that[1] "Muñja gave thanks to God, welcomed

Mr. Hall contends that the word 'Sauravira', rightly Śûravîra in the monument adverted to, is not the name of a king. Gondala is the first regal personage whom it notices. His scn seems to be Gyâtâ, for which 'Pâtâ', has been printed; the vernacular corruption perhaps of 'Jñâtâ', nominative of Jñâtṛ. Ari-bala-mathana, if such be the true reading, is an epithet of the doubtful 'Gyâtâ', and can by no possibility be a proper name. Udayâdîtya is represented as the son of the last; and he is distinctly stated to have been ruling in Saṃ 1116, or Śaka 981. (J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35.) I agree with Mr. Hall in thinking that "Ari-bala-mathana' is not a proper name. But I am inclined to take it as an epithet of Udayâditya. If the record is studied in the light of the Udayapur praśasti and the Nagpur inscription, it must be maintained that Udayâditya and not Gyâtâ (Jñâtâ), rescued his ancestral dominion of Malwa and established his authority over it.

1 Translated by Jarrett, Vol.II, p. 217.

Bhoja with much affection aud appointed him his successor. When his son Jayacând's reign was ended, none of the Poṇwâr caste was found worthy to succeed. Jîtpal, of the Toṇwar caste, who was one of the principal land-owners, was elected to the throne, and, thus, by the vicissitudes of fortune, the sovereignty passed into his family."

It is evident that Jayacând, mentioned above, is identical with Jayasiṃha, and Jîtpal is possibly the same as Udayâditya.

A number of inscriptions of Udayâditya's reign have been discovered. The Udayapur praśasti,[1] which has often been referred to above, is engraved on a slab of stone, and is now lying in front of the Nîlakaṇṭheśvara temple, at Udayapur, in Bhilsa. It is highly important and interesting, inasmuch as it furnishes us with much information of great significance for the reconstruction of the early history of the Paramâras of Malwa. It is the only available record which supplies a complete genealogy of this family of rulers from Upendra to Bhoja. It is undated, and seems to have been issued during the early part of the king's reign.

Two short inscriptions,[2] one of which is dated Saṃ 1137 = 1080 A. D., have been found in the temple of Nîlakaṇṭheśvara Two more short inscriptions of his reign one in the "antarâla" of a temple at Un, in the Nimar District,[3] and the other on a pillar attached to Bhoja's school at Dhârâ,[4] have been discovered.

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 233.

2 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 83; Progress Report of the Archæological Survey (Western circle), March, 1914, p. 66.

3 A. S. I., 1918-19, p. 17.

4 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 351.

A stone inscription[1] in Sarvasukhiyakothi at Jhalrapatan, in Jhalawar State, Rajputana, was executed in Saṃ 1143=1086 A. D., in the victorious reign of Udayâditya It records that the Paṭṭakila Janna, the son of the Paṭṭakila Câhila, who was born in the family of Tailika, built a temple of Śiva and a tank in Cirihilla between Câḍâghanṣa Kûpikâ and Vruvasaka. He promised to make an annual gift of four palas of oil and a lump of sweetmeat in the ceremony of Sendhavadeva. The inscription was engraved by the learned Harṣuka. As the record is engraved on a stone, there was less chance of its being carried any great distance away from its original situation. Hence the temple, which Janna built, seems to have been somewhere near Jhalrapatan. This locality was under the sway of the Paramâras of Dhârâ even as late as the middle of the thirteenth century A. D.[2]

From the evidence of these inscriptions, it may fairly be inferred that the kingdom over which Udayâditya held sway extended at least up to Jhalrapatan on the north, Bhilsa on the east, and the Nimar District on the south. This proves that he succeeded in regaining almost the whole of the territory over which his predecessor Bhoja ruled in the latter part of his reign. The Bheraghat inscription of the Kalacuri Narasiṃha[3] designates Udayâditya as the king of the province of Malwa, and the Karnbel inscription[4] of the Kalacuri Jayasiṃha describes him as the lord of Dhârâ.

1 J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 241.

2 Progress Report of the Archæological Survey (Western circle), 1913, p. 56.

3 Mâlava-maṇḍalâdhinâthOdayâditya. E. I., Vol. II, p. 12.

4 DharâdhîśOdayâditya. I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 217.

Udayâditya was admittedly a military commander of a high order. But our information as to his further warlike activities is not very extensive.

After the restoration of peace in Malwa, Udayâditya had to encounter another invasion of the Câḷukyas. Someśvara II was overthrown by his younger brother, Vikramâditya VI, in 1076 A. D. Vikramâditya, who was an ally of Jayasiṃha, turned an enemy of Udayâditya. He seems to have led a successful campaign against Malwa, shortly after his accession to the throne. An inscription,[1] dated 1077 A. D, from Shikarpur Taluq, records that "he was the source of a great fever of terror to the king of Dhârâ."

These reverses, however did not materially disturb the peaceful continuance of the Paramâra rule.

Udayâditya spent the remaining years of his reign in peace and happiness. He had a profound veneration for men of letters. The educational institute, established by Bhoja at Dhârâ, flourished under his careful supervision. He engraved charts, containing alphabets and rules of grammar, for the guidance of the students, on the walls of Bhoja's school at Dhârâ, and also in the Chauberdera Temple at Un, in the Nimar District.[2] He declared that they were placed there for the gratification of poets and princes.[3]

Udayâditya showed unflagging zeal also in the building of architectural monuments. He laid the foundation of the city of Udayapur in Bhilsa, and erected there the great temple of Nîlakaṇṭheśvara. An inscription from Udayapur[4] records that this temple was built

1 Dhârâ-nâtha-mahâ-bhaya-jvara-karaṃ.........
(E. C., Vol. VII, Sk., No. 124, p. 171.)

2 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 350. 3 Ibid., p. 351.

4 J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 540.

by him in 1059 A. D., and was considered the most superb of its kind in the whole of India. Another inscription,[1] discovered in the same temple, credits him with the foundation of Udayapur, Udayeśvara, and Udayasamudra. Udayeśvara is perhaps the same as Nîlakaṇṭheśvara. At present, Udayasamudra cannot be identified. It must have been a lake or a big tank in the vicinity of Udayapur. UdayÂditya is reported to have erected many other temples, caused tanks to be excavated, performed religious ceremonies, and granted lands productive of gold and corn to the Brahmans.[2] It can hardly be doubted that some among the group of temples at Un, were his own contributions.[3]

Some gold coins of UdayÂditya's reign have been found in the Central Provinces.[4] Besides these, no other coins of the dynasty have yet been discovered.

It will be admitted by everyone that UdayÂditya's career as a king was one of unique success. He came as a boon to the ParamÂras in the day of their worst calamity. The most difficult and responsible task with which he was faced, was, amidst highly adverse circumstances, conducted by him to a successful issue. He restored peace and order, and an atmosphere suitable to the peaceful pursuit of the daily avocations of life. As a true successor to the throne of Muñja and Bhoja, he paid equal attention to the healthy advancement of the literary movement. The judicious care which he took for the furtherance of education is unique in its character. In the field of architecture his

1 Progress Report of the Archæological Survey (Western circle), 1914, p. 66.

2 J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 540.

3 A. S. I., 1918-19, pp. 17-18.

4 J. A. S. B., 1920, Plate XIII, No. 2.

achievements were marvellous. The great Nîlakaṇṭheśvara temple still stands to testify to his greatness. Thus the work set on foot by Muñja and Bhoja for erecting Malwa into an ideal state was in full operation during the reign of Udayâditya, and did not flag for want of royal patronage.[1]

The Râs Mâlâ[2] relates that 'Oodayâdit' (Udayâditya) had two wives, one belonging to the Solunkhee (Solâṅki) dynasty and the other to the Wâghelâ clan. By the Solâṅki queeeen he had a son named Jug Dev (Jagaddeva), and by the Vâghelâ queen another son called Rindhuwul (Raṇadhavala). Prince Jug Dev was an intrepid warrior, and his fame as a general spread all over India. He had three wives. The first was the daughter of Raja Râj, the Dâk Chowra king of Took-Todâ, which, since Raja Râj himself was blind, had been under the regency of his son Beerj (Vîrya). The second was the daughter of Sidh Râj Jesingh Dev (Jayasiṃha Siddharâja), the king of Gujarat, and the third was a princess of the house of Râjâ Phool of Bhojnagar. Rindhuwul married the daughter of Gumbheer (Gambhîra), a chief of Gord. Udayâditya, influenced by his Wâghela queen, made Rindhuwul his heir apparent.

1 In the middle of the 11th century A. D., a family of princes had been ruling in Jhansi, in the United Provinces. An inscription on the wall of a ruined fort in that locality records that the son of Satyâvatî, a prince of this family, was in some way connected with the rule of Udayâditya, the Lord of Avanti. The record is in a most fragmentary state, and it is difficult to determine the nature of their relationship. (E. I., Vol. I, p. 216.) It is very likely that the prince of Jhansi rendered *military* assistance to Udayâditya, in his war with the Cauḷukyas of Gujarat.

2 Forbes' Râs Mâlâ, edited by H. G. Rawlinson, 1924, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.

Jug Dev, through the jealousy of his step-mother, was reduced to poverty. He left Malwa, and, in order to make a living, accepted military service under Sidh Râj in Gujarat. Within a very short time he became a favourite of his master on account of his valour and faithfulness. On one occasion he sacrificed his son, and offered his own life and that of his wife to ensure the safety of Sidh Râj from some impending peril. Some time afterwards, learning that Sidh Raj was making preparations to invade Malwa, he resigned his office and left for Dhârâ in order to defend his native country. He was received with great affection by his father, who subsequently appointed him his successor superseding Rindhuwul. Soon afterwards Oodayâdit died, and Jug Dev ascended the throne of Malwa, which he occupied for fifty-two years.

This is the sum and substance of the story of Jug Dev, as narrated by the Gujarat chroniclers. Apart from its mythological character, it is chronologically inaccurate. Jug Dev could not have ruled for fifty-two years, since Udayâditya's second son, Naravarman, began his reign some time before 1094 A. D. According to the early Jaina Chroniclers, Jayasiṃha-Siddharâja ascended the throne in 1094 A. D. If this is true, and as there is no valid reason for disbelieving it, he could not have been a contemporary of Udayâditya. But notwithstanding these discrepancies, it cannot be denied that Udayâditya had a son named Jagaddeva, who, for some time, became the king of Malwa. Merutuṅga,[1] though he mentions the name of this prince, makes no allusion to his pedigree. According to him, the prince entered the military service of Paramârdin,

1. Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 186, cf. Kîrtikaumudî, Sarga II, v. 99.

king of Kuntala, and was highly honoured by the caulukya Siddharâja. The Paramâra Arjunavarman, in his Rasikasaṃjîvinî,[1] states that his predecessor, Jagaddeva, was very handsome and that his beauty was described by Nâcirâja. Two Hoysaḷa inscriptions[2] state that, in the latter part of the eleventh century A. D., Jagaddeva was the king of Mâlava.

The Belava inscription of Bhojavarman,[3] the king of Eastern Bengal, states that Jagadvijayamalla was the son of Udayi (Udayâditya), who was a great conqueror in this world. Dr. Haraprasad Śâstrî rightly suggests that Jagadvijayamalla of the above inscription is the same as Jagaddeva of Malwa.[4]

Udayâditya had connections with many of the neighbouring rulers. His daughter, Śyâmala Devî, was married to Vijayasiṃha, son of Vairisiṃha and grandson of Haṃsapâla, of the Gobhila (Guhila) family.[5] Vijayasiṃha is mentioned as the ruler of Prâgvâṭa and was

1 Yathâsmat-pûrvaja-rûpa-varṇane Nâcirâjasya
satrâsâ iva sâlasâ iva lasad-garvâ ivâdrî iva
vyâjihmâ iva lajjitâ iva paribhrântâ ivârtâ iva
tvad-rûpe nipataṃti kutra na Jagaddeva prabho
subhruvâṃ
vâtâvartana-nartit-otpala-dala-droṇî-druho dṛṣṭayaḥ ॥ p. 8

2 Vide post p. 149. Prof. Kielhorn takes Jagaddeva and the Mâlava lord, referred to in one of these inscriptions, as two different kings (K. S I, No. 409). But the verse in question clearly states that Jagaddeva was the lord of Mâlava. (Ep. Carnatica, Vol II, p. 168, No. 349.) Jagddeva is described as the emperor of Mâlava in another Hoysaḷa grant. (Vide post p. 149 fn. 2.)

3 E. I., Vol. XII, p 40, v. 10; J. A. S. B., Vol. X, p. 125.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 12, v. 21; I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 217, lines 15-16.

evidently a king of Mewar.[1] From the union of Vijayasiṃha and Śyâmala Devî was born a daughter, Alhaṇa Devî, who was given in marriage to the Kalacuri Gayakarṇa (1115-1151 A.D.). Narasiṃha and Jayasiṃha were sons of Gayakarṇa and Alhaṇa Devî.[2]

Udayâditya closed his reign shortly after 1086 A. D.[3] The tradition runs that Jug Deb was his immediate successor to the throne, but a contemporary Paramâra record states that Lakṣmadeva became king of Malwa after Udayâditya's death.[4] Jagaddeva's name is not mentioned in any Paramâra inscription. But that he ruled in Malwa for some years, about this time, is borne out by the two Hoysaḷa inscriptions referred to above. In these circumstances it may therefore be cojectured that the names Jagaddeva and Lakṣmadeva were those of one and the same person.

LAKṢMADEVA

The Nagpur stone inscription[5] is the main evidence to throw light upon the career of this monarch. It records that, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, he granted two villages in the Vyâpura maṇḍala, probably for the maintenance of a temple. The date of this grant cannot be definitely determined, as there were eight solar

1 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 346.

2 E. I., Vol. II, p. 12. The tradition runs that "Raedhuwul Puar, son (or descendant) of Udayâdit of Dhâr, had three daughters, one of whom he betrothed to Jeipâl (Ujye Pâl) Solunkhi, son of Sidh Râj, another to Beeji Râj Bhaṭṭi and the third to the Râṇâ of Cheetore."

(Tod's Râjasthân, ii, 1203.)

3 J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 241 ; A. S. I., 1923-24, p. 135.

4 E. I., Vol. II, p. 192.

5 Ibid., p. 182.

eclipses between the years 1087 and 1094 A. D.[1] As the inscription is engraved on an ordinary piece of stone, which was evidently used for building a temple, it was less likely to have been carried any great distance from its original place. This makes it apparent that Vyâpura maṇḍala was situated somewhere near Nagpur. Nagpur is also known as Vyalapura, which leads Mr. Bal Gangadhar Śâstrî to suggest its identification with Vyâpura.[2] The modern city of Nagpur was founded in the early years of the eighteenth century A. D., by the Râja Bakht Buland.[3] In ancient days the most important place in the district was Nandivardhana or Nâgardhana, the modern village of the same name, four miles south of Ramtek, which still contains huge remains of old forts and temples. The tradition goes that, in olden times Nandivardhana was an important settlement of the Paramâras. This is strongly corroborated by the present existence of a Ponwar caste in that locality. Hence it is quite probable that a portion of the Nagpur District formed part of the kingdom of the Paramâras of Malwa. Nandivardhana was included in the dominion of the Râṣṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa. In 940 A. D., the Râṣṭrakûṭa Kṛṣṇa III granted to a Kanarese Brahman a village, in the District of Nâgapura-Nandivardhana.[4] After the collapse of the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire, its northern portion was taken possession of by the Paramâras, and its southern part was occupied by the Câḷukyas. In the

1 A. D. 1087, 1st August — A. D. 1092, 9th May.
„ „ 1088, 20, July — „ „ 1093, 23, September
„ „ 1090, 24, November — „ „ 1094, 19, March
„ „ 1091, 21, May

2 J. Bo. Br., Vol. I, pp. 264-65.

3 C. P. Gazetteer, Nagpur District, Vol. A, p. 314.

4 J Bo. Br., Vol. XVIII, p. 248. Deoli Plate.

latter part of the tenth century A. D. there was a hard contest between Muñja and Tailapa II over the boundary of their territory in the Godavari District. After this, the Paramâras seem to have held sway over Nagpur until Vikramâditya VI annexed the southern part of it. The Râṣṭrakûṭa Dhâḍîbha(ṃ ?)ḍaka, an immigrant from Latalaura, had been governing this newly conquered province in 1087 A. D., as a vassal of Vikramâditya.[1]

WAR AGAINST BENGAL

The Nagpur stone inscription devotes nineteen verses to a record of the military excursions of Lakṣmadeva. His soldierly qualities were marvellous and unsurpassed. He went out with a large army for "digvijaya" like his neighbours, the Câlukya Vikramâditya VI and the Kalacuri Karṇa. Since the early years of the eleventh century A. D., the great Pâla empire had been declining into a state of insignificance, which encouraged many other ruling chiefs of Central and Southern India to fall upon it for riches and plunder. In the last quarter of the eleventh century A. D., a revolution, organised by the Kaivartas under Divvoka, broke out in Bengal, and resulted in the temporary overthrow of the Pâla supremacy in "Varendra-bhûmi" (Gauḍa or North Bengal.)[2] The king Râmapâla (1077-1120 A. D.) succeeded with great dfficulty in quelling the revolt and regaining his throne with the assistance of his feudatories.[3] This imbroglio in the Pâla kingdom offered to Lakṣmadeva a very wide field for the display of his warlike activities. He entered

1 E. I., Vol. III, p. 304 ; Sitabaldi inscription.

2 Bânglâr Itihâsa, Vol. I, p. 277.

3 Ibid., pp. 281 ff.

Bengal at the head of a large army, and made a successful raid over it. It is said that in order to capture elephants, he first proceeded to Hari's quarter (*i. e.* the eastern quarter) and entered the town of the lord of Gauḍa.[1]

WAR WITH THE KALACURIS OF TRIPURÎ.

During this period, the Kalacuris of Tripurî also fell victims to Lakṣmadeva's attack. Jayasiṃha had succeeded in rescuing Malwa from the domination of the Kalacuri Karṇa. Karṇa was really instrumental in bringing disgrace and ignominy on the Paramâras in the middle of the eleventh century A. D. This left a deep wound in the pride of the Paramâras, notwithstanding the fact that they subsequently regained their former position; and this wound Lakṣmadeva was now bent upon healing by paying off old scores against the Kalacuris. He advanced towards the Cedi country, and threatened to overthrow the Kalacuri government. Karṇa was now dead, and was succeeded by his son, Yaśaḥkarṇa (1072-1115 A. D.). Yaśaḥkarṇa was an intrepid warrior, and had acquired fame by his conquest of Campâraṇya.[2] But, to his discredit, he failed to withstand the attack of the Malwa army. His kingdom was overrun and his capital, Tripurî, was stormed by Lakṣmadeva, who next encamped on the bank of the Narmada, at the foot of the Vindhya hill, where his

1 Prayâti yasmin prathamaṃ diśaṃ harer jjihîrsayânanya
-samâna dantinâṃ ।
yathâviśad Gauḍa-pateḥ puraṃ dara(s tathâ) śaśaṅke
sahasâ puraṃdaraḥ ॥
(E, I., Vol. II, p. 186, v. 34.)

2 Ibid., p. 11.

elephants rested after the fatigue of the battle, bathing in the waters of the river.[1]

Lakṣmadeva is reported to have come into conflict with the armies of Aṅga and Kaliṅga. Verse 43 of the Nagpur inscription records that[2] "even the troops of elephants of Aṅga and Kaliṅga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters, and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain-clouds, dark like herds of hogs kept for pastime,—even they had to sue for mercy, when they were bewildered by the union of the storm-wind with the powerful elephants belonging to the princes of his army."

Aṅga comprised the modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr, in Bihar, and formed a part of Râmapâla's territory.[3] Kaliṅga was the modern Northern Circars, a territory between Orissa and the Dravidian (Drâviḍa) country, bordering the sea. According to Mr. Cunningham, it did not extend beyond the Godavari on the south-west and the Gooliya branch of the Indravati river on the

1 Utsâhonnati-sannimitta-janitâjasra-prayâṇa-krameṇ
-âkramya Tripurîṃ raṇaika-rasikân-vi(ddhvaṃ)sya
vidveṣiṇaḥ ।
yenâvâsyata Vindhya-nirjhara-marut-saṃcâra-câr-ûllasal
-lîl-odyâna-latâ-vitâna-vasatau Revopakaṇṭha-(stha)le ॥
(V. 39, E. I., Vol. II, p. 186.)

2 Ye dik-sindhura-va(ba)ndhavaḥ kṣaya-marul-lolâdri-sa(ttâ)
bhṛtaḥ
krîḍâ-kroḍa-kuṭumva(mba)-kâ(nti)-jalamukṣa-vra(bra)
hmacaryâ jusaḥ ।
yat-senâ-nṛpa-gandha-sindhura-marun-maitrî-vihastîkṛtais
-tair apy Aṅga-Kaliṅga-kuñjara-kulair yuddhâ(ya)
va(ba)ddhoñjaliḥ ॥ (v. 43.)
(E. I., Vol. II, p. 187; ibid, p. 193.)

3 Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 93-94.

north-west.[1] Professor Rapson identifies it with the country between the Mahanadi and the Godavari.[2] Lakṣmadeva possibly fought with the Aṅga army during his invasion of Bengal. Or it may be that he routed an aggressive campaign of the Aṅga army under Râmapâla.

After the restoration of peace in Northern Bengal, Râmapâla turned his attention to retrieving the past glories of his family.[3] He advanced against Utkala and Kaliṅga, and brought them into subjection.[4]

The conquest of Kaliṅga probably encouraged Râmapâla to invade the Paramâra kingdom, which extended up to the Nagpur District. On that occasion he might have been assisted by the Kaliṅga army in his military operations. The above verse of the Nagpur praśasti suggests that the Aṅga and the Kaliṅga army waged aggressive campaign against Lakṣmadeva. But, as has already been seen, his progress was successfully checked by Lakṣmadeva.

Lakṣmadeva's ambition for military glory induced him to fight against the powerful chiefs of the Deccan and Southern India. He found it expedient to maintain friendly relations with Vikramâditya VI. An inscription,[5] dated 1129 A. D., probably exaggerates this fact by stating that "the Mâlava and other kings, trembling, submitted to his command with fear, making friendship, agreeing with all he said, and are still in the enjoyment

1 Ancient Geography,p. 591.

2 Ancient India, p. 164.

3 Râmacarita, III, 10.

4 Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, No. I, p. 15.

5 E. C., Vol. VII, SK, No. 100, p. 68 ; cf E. C., Vol. II, (Sravana Belgola Ins.) No. 349.

of their kingdoms." "For were it not so, he would at once, without pity, have sent those great kings to enjoy the kingdom of the gods."

WAR WITH THE HOYSALAS.

The Hoysaḷas of Mysore, who were feudatories of the Câḷukya sovereigns of Kalyani, seem to have made an attempt to shake off their yoke of subordination, in the latter part of the eleventh century A. D. Lakṣmadeva took this opportunity of making an alliance with Vikramâditya VI for an invasion of the territory of the Hoysaḷas. The Hoysaḷa Ereyaṅga was at that time ruling in Mysore as representative of his old father Vinayâditya.[1] Ballâḷa I, Viṣṇuvardhana, and Udayâditya were the sons of Ereyaṅga, who were intrepid warriors. Lakṣmadeva, accompanied by the Câḷukya army, overran Mysore and besieged its capital, Dorasamudra.[2] Upon this, the three sons of Ereyaṅga showed themselves equal to the occasion, and offered a stubborn resistance to the

1 The history of the Hoysaḷas of this period is confusing, and requires a special study. Ereyaṅga was a Yuvarâja in 1062 A. D., and according to the statement of an inscription he continued to be so until at least 1096 A. D. (E. C., Vol. VI, Kd, No. 142; introduction p. 11.). But in one of his inscriptions, dated Śaka 1015=1093 A. D., he designates himself as mahâmaṇḍaleśvara (Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Mysore, 1924, p. 31). His latest known date is 1100 A. D. (E. C., Vol. V, AK, No. 102a). He had three sons, Ballâḷa I, Viṣṇuvardhana, and Udayâditya. Ballâḷa's inscriptions are dated A. D. 1104 and 1108 (E. C., Vol. V, Hn, No. 161; Ann Report Arch. Dep. Mysore, 1925, p. 56). The dates of Viṣṇuvardhana's inscriptions range from 1100 A. D. (E. C., Vol. VI, Kd, No. 164).

2 The modern village of Halebid in the north-east of the Belur taluk of Hassan District, Mysore.

invading army. Lakṣmadeva could not stand before this opposition, and was forced to withdraw. We have a considerable amount of evidence throwing light upon this event. An inscription,[1] dated 1196 A. D., relates that "Ballâḷa drove back in battle the force which came to attack him, so that even the Mâlava emperor, Jagadeva, whose proud elephant he made to scream out, said 'Welldone, horseman'; to which he replied, 'I am not only a horseman, I am Vîra-Ballâḷa', and by his slaughter excited the astonishment of the world." The Sravana Belgola inscription,[2] dated 1159 A. D., states that "Viṣṇu, powerful like Yama striking with his hand, drank up all at once the rolling ocean, the army of the Mâlava king, Jagaddeva, and others sent by the emperor (*i.e.* Vikramâditya VI)." An inscription,[3] dated 1161 A.D., records that Viṣṇuvardhana, while still a youth, defeated Jagadeva. The Belur Taluq inscription[4], dated 1117 A.D., registers the fact that "in Dorasamudra they (Viṣṇu and Ballâḷa) defeated the army of Jagadeva, painted the goddess of Victory with the blood of his elephants for vermilion, and captured his treasury together with the central ornament of his necklace." Narasiṃha I's

1 Kâḷegadoḷ taḍaṅgaḍidu mundaṇa thaṭṭin avuṅki pâydoḍ â-Mâlava-cakravartti Jagadêvane tanna madândha-sindhuraṃ । kîḷ iḍe pûtu râvutene râvutan allen idirccu vîra
-Baḷḷâḷan en endu meṭṭi tivid âltanav accariy âytu dhâtriyoḷ ॥
(E. C., Vol. VI, Tarikere Taluq, No. 45).

2 api ca ॥ cakri-prêṣita-Mâḷaveśvara-Jagaddevâdi-sainyârṇnavaṃ ghûrṇnantaṃ sahasâpibat karataḷenâhatya mṛtyu-prabhuḥ prâk paścâd asinâgrahîd iha mahîṃ tat-Kṛṣṇaveṇṇâvadhi śrî-Viṣṇur bbhuja-daṇḍa-curṇnita-nitântottuṅga-tuṅgâcalaḥ ॥ (E. C., Vol. II, Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola (revised edition), No. 349, p. 168).

3 E. C., Vol. V, Bl., No. 193.

4 Ibid., Bl., No. 58; Hn, No. 116.

inscription,[1] dated 1164 A. D, records that the three brothers Ballâḷa, Viṣṇu and Udayâditya destroyed the army of Jagadeva in Dorasamudra. The earliest known date of the record containing the report of Jagadeva's defeat is 1100 A. D.[2]

WAR WITH THE COḶAS

About this time, nearly the whole of Southern India was under the supremacy of the Coḷas. In the early years of the eleventh century A. D., the Coḷa kingdom extended on the north to the river Tungabhadra and the lower course of the Kistna. With the accession of Kulottuṅga I (A. D. 1070-1118), the kingdom of the western Câḷukyas of Veṅgi and that of the Coḷas of Kâñci were merged into one. This

1 Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 30. Mr. Fleet thinks that the Jagaddeva, referred to in the Hoysaḷa grants, may be an ancestor of, or possibly even identical with the Śântara prince Jagaddeva of Paṭṭipombuccapura, who has been mentioned in connection with the Western Câḷukya kings Perma-Jagadekamalla II and Taila III.' (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 494.) But this does not bear any examination when confronted with the available authentic evidence. Jagaddeva, with whom the three Hoysaḷa brothers fought, is expressly mentioned as the king of Mâlava in two Hoysaḷa inscriptions. Śântara Jagaddeva, referred to by Mr. Fleet, ruled in the middle of the twelfth century A. D., his inscription being dated A. D. 1149 (Mysore Inscription, p. 97; cf E. C., Vol. VIII, Sg., No. 131). His grandfather Tailapa's inscriptions range from A. D. 1089 to A. D. 1106. (E. C., Vol. VIII, Sg, No. 103; Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department, 1923, p. 117). The battle between Jagaddeva and the Hoysaḷas took place before 1100 A. D.

2 E. C., Vol. V, AK., No. 34; cf. English text, p. 122 footnote.

extended the northern boundary of the Coḷa dominion up to the river Godavari, within less than three hundred miles of the marches of the Paramâra kingdom. The intervening territories between these two kingdoms were the target of attack for many military adventurers of this period. Kulottuṅga I, when he was Crown Prince, ravaged Vayirâgaram (modern Wairagarh), which lies only a few miles south of the Nagpur District.[1] Lakṣmadeva now came into conflict with the Coḷas, who were at that time governed by Kulottuṅga I. His success on this occasion was sweeping. We are told that, when he directed his steps towards the south, the Coḷas and the other tribes bowed low before him.[2] Next, in the course of his predatory excursions, he is said to have reached Tâmraparṇî, which lay, within the territory of the Pâṇḍyas,[3] and thence, having crossed Râma's bridge, proceeded to Ceylon and reduced that island to subjection.[4] But, in the absence of any definite corroborative evidence, it is impossible to say with certainty whether he invaded the Pâṇḍya country and Ceylon.[5] It seems to be merely the panegyric of the poet.

1 S. I. I., Vol. III, Part II, p. 132.

2 E. I., Vol. II, p. 187, v. 46.

3 Locally it is now called Tambaravari in Tinnevelly, which rises in the Agastikuta mountain. Ibid., v. 47.

4 Ibid., v. 48.

5 On the Nagpur stone inscription, Prof. Kielhorn remarks that "according to the poet's account, Lakṣmadeva subjugated the earth in all directions ; but the only tangible and probably true facts mentioned are an expedition undertaken against Tripurî, the well-known capital of the Cedi kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turuṣkas or Muhammadan invaders, alluded to in verse 54, which speaks of the king's

SUBJUGATION OF THE HILL TRIBES.

Having finished his eastern and southern expeditions, Lakṣmadeva is reported to have advanced against the Western countries. The Dvyâśraya relates that, during

encampment on the banks of the river vankṣu, and contains a well-known play on the word kîra." (E. I., Vol. II, p. 181). With due deference to the learned scholar, I do not agree with him in every respect. It is to be borne in mind that the 'Praśasti' was composed by the king Naravarman, the younger brother and successor of Lakṣmadeva. It contains fifty-eight verses, of which nineteen are devoted to the praise of Lakṣmadeva, three to Udayâditya and three to Bhoja, the glory of the Paramâras The poet-king is extremely vague in describing the military achievements of all his predecessors and of himself, with the exception of Lakṣmadeva, of whose exploits he writes particularly definitely. This is a matter, which, of course, calls for special consideration and remark. At present we have no other material to put forward as evidence corroborative of the information under review, namely, that supplied by the Nagpur inscription. But this does not in any way make the facts incredible, if they are not otherwise so. The report of Samudragupta's conquests, as gathered from the Allahabad Pillar inscription, is not supported by any other evidence ; yet no doubt is entertained by historians regarding its genuineness. Lakṣmadeva inherited from his father a kingdom, whose minimum extent lay between Jhalrapatan on the north, Bhilsa on the east, Nagpur and the Nimar Districts on the south, and the Banswara state on the west. The possession of such an enormous territory proves that the Paramâras retained great authority and power even in the last quarter of the eleventh century A. D. Their ruler was certainly not less powerful than his neighbours, whose conquests of far countries are recorded by a large number of inscriptions. With the decline of the imperial power of the Pâlas, Bengal became a powerful attraction to foreign military adventurers. The Candella Dhanga (950—1001 A. D.), the successor of Yaśovarman, conquered Râḍha and Anga (E. I., Vol. I, p. 143) ; the Kalacuri

the reign of Siddharâja-Jayasiṃha (1095-1145 A. D.), king of Gujarat, the Râkṣasas were a source of constant trouble to the pious ṛṣis (religious mendicants), residing in Siddhapura. The ṛṣis besought Siddharâja for help, whereupon the king advanced with his army to chastise those barbarians.[1]

The Râkṣasa leader Bârbara, assisted by the brother of the king of Antaradeśa, opposed him on the bank of the Sarasvatî, but was defeated and brought under

Gâṅgeya (1020-1040 A. D.) defeated the king of Aṅga (ibid., Vol. XI, p. 143). His successor, Karṇa (1040-1072 A. D.), won victories over the rulers of Vaṅga and Gauḍa (ibid., Vol. II, p. 11). Râjendra Coḷa (1012—1042 A. D.), some time before 1025 A. D., conquered Orissa, Dakṣiṇa Râḍha and Vaṅgâladeśa, and defeated the Pâla Mahîpâla, who was deprived of his elephants and women in battle (ibid., Vol. IX, p. 231). The Câḷukya Someśvara is celebrated as a wind to the cloud that is the kings of Vaṅga and others (ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 97). His successor, Vikramâditya VI (1076—1128 A. D.), is said, as crown prince, to have carried his victorious arms up to Gauḍa and Kâmarûpa (Vikramâṅkadevacarita, Sarga III, v. 74). In the first quarter of the 11th century A. D., the Yâdavas of Siṃhapura, in Kaliṅga, migrated to East Bengal and established there a sovereignty of their own. In the latter part of the same century, Sâmantasena, a Karṇâṭa Kṣatriya, founded a kingdom in southern Bengal. Considering all these things, it cannot be maintained that it was impossible for Lakṣmadeva to carry on a raid over Bengal. He gave his daughter in marriage to a Varman king of East Bengal. Similarly, a survey of the above discussion (in the text), regarding Lakṣmadeva's conflicts with the kings of Aṅga, Kaliṅga and Coḷa, will make it clear that they were not, after all, beyond the range of probability. A large number of Hoysaḷa inscriptions record that Jagaddeva, the emperor of Mâlava, advanced up to Mysore in his military campaigns.

1 Sarga XII.

control.[1] The Râkṣasas were, no doubt, wild hill tribes, dwelling in the mountains of Gujarat. Lakṣmadeva is credited with a victory over the Timiṅgalas and other monsters who resided in the Mainâka mountain[2] on the west. The Mahâbhârata locates this mountain on the western border of India, in or near Gujarat.[3] The Timiṅgalas were probably one of those hill-tribes who were subjugated by Siddharâja.

WAR WITH THE KÎRAS.

Lakṣmadeva is said to have led expeditions against the countries on the north as he did on other directions. Verse 54 of the Nagpur inscription records that[4] —"being encamped on the bank of the Vaṅkṣu, which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron-filaments on them were withering under the rolling of teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turuṣkas, whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kîra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who, on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatî, was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage."

The Vaṅkṣu was an arm or small branch of the Ganges,[5] which cannot now be identified. Sarasvatî

1 Dvyâśraya, Sarga XII, pp. 113-114.
2 E. I., Vol. II., pp. 187, 188, vs. 50-51.
3 Chapter LXXXIX.
4 khelotkhâta-Turuṣka-datta-vilasad-vâhâvalî-vellana klâmyat-kuṅkuma-kesarâdhika-mṛdau Vaṃkṣûpakaṇṭha-sthale I
Yenâvâsya Sarasvatî-savidhatâ sâdhikya-vâk-pâṭavaś câṭun utkaṭa-(pa)tri-pañjara-gataḥ Kîrâdhipo 'dhyâpyata II
(E. I., Vol II, p. 188.)
5 M. Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary.

is evidently the name of the river in the Punjab, which rises in the Sirmur hills, known as the Sewalik, in the Himalayan ranges, and enters the plains at Ad-Bardi in Ambala. It receives as tributaries the Markanda and other streams, and joins the Gaggar near the village of Rasula.[1] The Brahma-Saṃhitâ mentions the Kîras as a people inhabiting the country to the north-east together with the Kashmiras.[2] The Baijnath inscription[3] records that there was a family who ruled in Kîragrâma. The king Lakṣmaṇa of this family was ruling in 804 A. D.[4] Kîragrâma is the modern Kirgaon, a small town on the east of Kangra, about thirty miles east of Kat-Kangra, and nearly a hundred miles south of which flows the river Sarasvati. The name of the locality itself suggests that there was a settlement of the Kîras. Nothing is known of the successors of Lakṣmaṇa. But the existence of the Kîras as a ruling dynasty can be traced from the beginning of the ninth century A. D. The Pâla Dharmapâla (780-815 A. D.) defeated the Kîras,[5] The Candella Yaśovarman (925-950 A. D.) obtained an image of Vaikuṇṭha from the Kîra Sâhi, who received it from the ruler of Bhoṭa.[6] Sâhilladeva, the king of Chamba, who flourished in the second quarter of the eleventh century A. D., is described as a "blazing fire of the Kîra forces fanned as by the wind by the Durgara lord, assisted by the Saumatika."[7] When the Kalacuri Karṇa (1042-1072 A. D.) gave full play to his heroism, the Kîra stayed at

1 For further information, see J. R. A. S., 1893, p. 51.
2 XIV, 29.
3 E. I., Vol. I., p. 163.
4 Ibid.
5 Gauḍa-lekha-mâlâ, p. 14.
6 E. I., Vol. I., p. 129, v. 63.
7 I. A., Vol. XVII, pp. 8-9.

home like a parrot in a cage.[1] Lakṣmadeva very likely warred with these Kîras of the Kangra District, who lived near the river Sarasvati.

WAR WITH THE MOSLEMS.

About this period the Paramâra kingdom was threatened with an invasion by the Moslems. Ibrâhîm, the son of Mas'ud I and the grandson of the great conqueror Maḥmûd, ascended the throne of Ghaznî in 1059 A. D., and ruled his kingdom until 1099 A. D.[2] He appointed his son Maḥmûd governor of his Indian possessions in 1075 A. D. Maḥmûd launched an extensive campaign against Hindustan. Agra fell before his sword, and many Hindu kings offered their submission to his authority. He is said to have received a large number of elephants as presents from the neighbouring ruling chiefs. Stables were erected at Kanauj for the residence of those elephants, and Chand Râi was appointed to take charge of them.[3] This Chand Râi is to be identified with Candradeva of the Gâhaḍavâla dynasty, who was the king of Kanauj in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. After this achievement Maḥmûd directed his armies towards Malwa. Lakṣmadeva who seems at that time to have been on the throne of Malwa was not a man to yield before the Moslems without any battle. He offered a stubborn resistance to the invaders. In the encounter that followed the Moslems won some preliminary victories but were ultimately repelled by Lakṣmadeva.[4] The great Persian poet Salmân was a contemporary of the Sultân Ibrâhîm and Maḥmûd. He

1 E. I., Vol. II, p. 15, v. 12.
2 Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 34.
3 Elliot History of India, Vol. IV, p. 524.
4 E. I., Vol. II, p. 188.

died in 520 H=1126 A. D.[1] He gives a description of Maḥmûd's invasion of Malwa, and addressing the prince writes-[2] "Thou didst encamp at pleasant spots in each province in the hottest season of the year. On this journey thy army destroyed a thousand idol temples, and thy elephants trampled over more than a hundred strongholds. Thou didst march thy army to Ujjain; Malwa trembled and fled from thee,"

I think Maḥmûd launched this invasion against Malwa when it was ruled by Lakṣmadeva. The Nagpur praśasti records Lakṣmadeva's conflict with the Moslems and his subsequent victory over them.[3]

Lakṣmadeva was a gallant soldier and an astute military leader. The name of Jagaddeva is still fresh in the memory of the people of Western India for his high military skill. He was undoubtedly a towering figure of the last quarter of the eleventh century A. D. He like a meteor, flashed across the horizon of Central India for a short time, and then disappeared, leaving behind him everlasting fame. Worthy son of his family as he was, he succeeded in exalting the position of the Paramâras to the foremost rank among imperial powers, after it had suffered so many vicissitudes in the course of the last few decades.

The Belava grant of Bhojavarman[4] records that Jagadvijayamalla, son of Udayî, gave his daughter Mâlavya Devî, in marriage to Sâmalavarman, king of East Bengal.

1 Elliot History of India, P. 518. According to some the poet died in 524 H=1131 A. D.

2 Ibid., p. 524.

3 Vide p. 154, Footnote 4.

4 Vîraśriyâm ajani Sâmalavarmma-devaḥ
Śrîmâñ-jagat-prathama-maṅgala-nâmadheyaḥ
kim varṇnayâmy akhila-bhûpa-guṇopapanno
doṣair mmanâg api padaṃ na kṛtaḥ prabhur mme ॥

Lakṣmadeva closed his reign some time before 1094 A. D., and was succeeded by his younger brother Naravarman.

NARAVARMAN.

Naravarman assumed the epithet of Nirvâṇa-Nârâyaṇa. Six inscriptions of his reign have so far been discovered.

(i) A slab of stone containing an inscription[1] was found near a tank, situated about a mile to the south of Udayapur, in the Bhilsa District. It records the construction of a tank in V. S. 1151=1094 A. D., when Naravarman was ruling his kingdom. The tank was evidently the very one close to which the record was discovered.

(ii) The stone inscription,[2] found in Nagpur, has often been referred to above. It states that, in V. S. 1161=1104 A. D., the king made a gift of the village

TasyOdayî sûnur abhût prabhûta-durvvâra-vîreṣv api saṅgareṣu
Yaś-candrahâsa-pratibimbitaṃ svam ekaṃ mukhaṃ sammukhaṃ îkṣate sma ||
Tasya Mâlavyadevy âsît kanyâ trailokya-sundarî
Jagadvijayamallasya vaijayantî manobhuvaḥ.

(J. A. S. B., Vol. X, p. 127, new series).

Mr. R. G. Basak thinks that "Jagadvijayamalla" is an adjective of "Manobhû" (E. I., Vol. XII, p. 42). Mr. R. D. Banerji supports Dr. H. P. Śâstrî, who takes it to be a proper name. Mr. Banerji suggests that "tasyOdayî sûnur" in line 17, is a mistake for "tathOdayî sûnur". In my opinion Dr. Śâstrî is right in his assertion, as it is known from other sources that Udayâditya had a son, Jagaddeva.

(J. A. S. B., Vol. X, p. 125. (N. 5.)

1 A. S. I., 1923-24, p. 135 (unpublished.)
2 E. I., Vol. II, p. 180.

Mokhalapâṭaka, in addition to the two villages granted by his brother Lakṣmadeva, in Vyâpuramaṇḍala. The donations were probably made for the maintenance of the temple to which the inscription next refers. Mokhalapâṭaka cannot now be identified.

(iii) Colonel Tod discovered an inscription on a marble stone at Madhukaraghar in Harauti (modern Bundi State).[1] It describes the predecessors of Naravarman as being Sindhula, Bhoja, and Udayâditya, and records the construction of a temple of Śiva by the illustrious Haradeva at Banjsthân, which lay in the extremity of the Dakhin and Udîcya deśa. The inaugural ceremony of the temple was performed in Saṃ. 1164 = A. D. 1107, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Haradeva was the son of the learned Mahâdeva and the grandson of Rudrâditya. He takes pride in having increased the glory of the king Naravarman, and was probably an important officer of the latter's government. Colonel Tod is of the opinion that the name Madhukaraghar was subsequently given to this Banjsthân. The Dakṣiṇadeśa and the Udîcyadeśa were separated by the Madhyadeśa, in which Malwa was situated. Hence nothing regarding the precise localisation of Banjsthân can be determined from the inscription. It may be assumed that the temple on which the stone inscription was affixed was not very far from Madhukaraghar. The locality may be identified with the the modern Bundi State.[2]

1 Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 226. The facsimile of the inscription is not available.

2 It is suggested that the country was named Bundi after a Minâ chieftain called Bûnda, who flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century A. D. (Imp. Gaz. of India, Vol. IX, p. 87).

(iv) A copper-plate inscription,[1] recently discovered, is a deed for granting several plots of land, situated in the village of Kadambapadraka, in the pratijâgaraṇaka of Mandâraka, in the Upendrapura maṇḍala. The province was under the charge of Mahâmaṇḍalika Râjyadeva, who was an officer of Naravarman. The recipient was Dviveda Âśâdhara, son of Dîkṣita Devaśarman and the grandson of Dviveda Narâyaṇa. The lands were granted piecemeal on different occasions. On one occasion the king made a gift of twenty plough-measures, and on another, in Saṃ. 1159=1102 A. D., Râjyadeva granted ten plough-measures and his wife Mahâdevî gave four ploughs. The whole record was issued in Saṃ. 1167=1110 A. D. The localities mentioned above cannot be identified.

(v) On the outskirts of the town of Bhilsa there is an old mosque known as Bijamandira. On one of its pillars there is an inscription[2] of the reign of Naravarman, in which he is given the epithet of Nirvâṇa-Nârâyaṇa. It records that it was by the grace of the Goddess Cacikâ (or Carcikâ) that the lord of Dhârâ assumed the sovereignty of the earth. She was the favourite goddess of Naravarman on whom she bestowed all the qualities of a good ruler. This suggests that the present building was originally a temple of Carcikâ, which was subsequently converted into a mosque.

(iv) In the Bhojaśâlâ at Dhârâ there is a short inscription,[3] representing Naravarman as a defender of religion.

1 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (Western Circle), 1921, p. 54 (unpublished.)

2 Ibid., 1914, p. 59 (unpublished.)

3 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 351.

WAR WITH THE CANDELLAS.

Notwithstanding the discovery of so many inscriptions of the reign of this monarch, our knowledge of his political career is very meagre. Some documents of the neighbouring dynasties, however, throw a ray of light upon the period under review. It has been noticed in the foregoing chapter that Bhoja entered into a war with the Candella Vidyâdhara. Vidyâdhara was succeeded by Vijayapâla (1040-1050 A. D.), Devavarman (1050-1065 A. D.), and Kîrtivarman (1065-1100 A. D.). With none of them are the Paramâras known to have made war. Kîrtivarman was succeeded by Sallakṣaṇavarman (1100-1110 A. D.), who was evidently a contemporary of Naravarman. The Candella kingdom was contiguous to that of the Paramâras. Udayapur, which was an important centre of the Paramâra government, was in the Bhâillasvâmi-mahâdvâdaśaka.[1] The Candella Madanavarman made a grant of land in 1134 A. D., while residing in Bhâillasvâmi.[2] Sallakṣaṇavarman entered into hostilities with Naravarman and won a victory over him. An inscription from Ajaigarh[3] tells us that he took away the fortune of the Mâlavas and the Cedis.

WAR WITH THE COLAS.

Naravarman seems to have come into conflict with the Coḷas and suffered a reverse. The Vikrama-Coḷan-Ulâ[4] tells us that Vikrama Coḷa's general, who was a

1 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1914, p. 59.

2 Ibid.

3 E. I., Vol. I, p. 326.

4 I. A., Vol. XXII, p. 143.

Pallava chief (1118-1133 A. D.), defeated the kings of Siṃhala, Koṅkaṇa, and Mâlava.

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

After Udayâditya's victory over the Caulukya Karṇa there was a temporary cessation of the struggles between Gujarat and Malwa. Karṇa's successor, Jayasiṃha -Siddharâja (1096-1145 A. D.), was very young when he ascended the throne of Anhilwar, in 1196 A. D. His mother, Mayaṇalladevî, became regent and managed the affairs of the state for some time. Shortly after his assumption of the charge of government for himself, the quarrel with Malwa broke out again with renewed intensity. Merutuṅga[1] tells us that, when Siddharâja was absent from Gujarat on a pilgrimage, the Mâlava king Yaśovarman invaded his kingdom. The Caulukya minister Sântû, who was in charge of the government, realising the weakness of his position, submitted to the invader on humiliating terms. On his ruturn to Gujarat, Siddharâja severely blamed the minister for his conduct and at once ordered an army to be assembled for the invasion of Malwa. Thus a war broke out with the Paramâras, which continued for twelve years, and ended in the defeat and capture of Yaśovarman. It will be shown below that Yaśovarman fell a captive to the Caulukya king in 1136 A. D., after a short reign of three years. Hence, if Merutuṅga's report regarding the length of the period of the war is correct, Yaśovarman certainly invaded Gujarat during the reign of his father Naravarman, and evidently at the instance of the latter.

Jinamaṇḍana's Kumârapâla-prabandha relates that Siddharâja made a vow that when he had killed Naravarman he would use his skin to make a scabbard for his

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 85 ff.

sword. The war continued for twelve years, and ended in the defeat and capture of Naravarman. Siddharâja, however, did not fulfil his vow, as he was told by his ministers that kings were inviolable. It is doubtful whether the Caulukya king really did succeed in capturing Naravarman, although there is no doubt that the latter was defeated. An inscription[1] records that Siddharâja made himself glorious by destroying the power of Naravarman.

All these reverses sustained by the Malwa government undoubtedly prove the degeneration of its military strength in the early part of the twelfth century A. D. Neither Naravarman nor his successors could do anything towards the restoration of its former glory. Hence, within a very short time, a most serious calamity again overtook the Paramâras, and led to the extinction of their political power for a long time to come.

Naravarman was himself a poet and a patron of those who devoted their lives to literary activities, giving them both sympathy and material support. He composed many hymns and verses.[2] He built many temples, though few remains of them can be traced now. According to the evidence of epigraphic records, he carried on his architectural activities in Nagpur[3] and Bhilsa.[4]

Momala-devî, Naravarman's queen, bore him a son named Yaśovarman,[5] who succeeded his father in 1133 A. D.[6]

1 Unpublished.
2 E. I., Vol. II, p. 188.
3 Ibid.
4 Progress Report, (W. C.), 1914, p. 59.
5 I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 349.
6 Ibid.

YAŚOVARMAN.

In the year Saṃ. 1191=1134 A. D., on the occasion of the annual funeral ceremony of his deceased father Naravarman, Yaśovarman, from the imperial city of Dhârâ, granted the two villages of Vaḍauda and Uthavaṇaka to the householder Dhanapâla, a Karṇâṭa Brahman, whose grandfather Ṭhakkura Mahirasvâmin came to Ujjain from the place called Adrelav(i)-ddhâvarî. The first of these two villages belonged to Surâsaṇî, and the second to Uthavaṇaka. Both Surâsaṇî and Uthavaṇaka were again attached to Râjaśayana-bhoga, which was in the Mahâdvâdaśaka-maṇḍala.[1]

A copper-plate inscription,[2] with the sign-manual of Śrîmad-Yaśovarmmadeva, was issued in the dark half of the month of Mârgaśiras, of the year Saṃ. 1192=November, 1135 A. D. Certain measures of land in Devalapâṭaka were formerly granted to two persons. On the occasion of the annual funeral ceremony of the illustrious Momala-devî, Yaśovarman, having altered the previous arrangements, gave instead the village of Laghuvaiṃgaṇapadra and the half of the village of Ṭhikkarikâ to the same grantees Ṭhakkura Vâmana-svâmi and the Mahâpradhâna, the Râjaputra Devadhara, were dûtakas.

The localities mentioned above cannot be identified.

Yaśovarman ascended the throne of Malwa at the time when almost all its military resources were exhausted by the long-protracted war with the Cauḷukyas of Gujarat. He was not a capable military leader, nor had he the keen perception of a veteran statesman, which was so badly needed by the Paramâra house in those

1 I. A., Vol. XIX., p. 351.
2 Ibid., p. 348.

dark days of its rapid decline. Hence it was evident that Malwa was again going to suffer a terrible disaster.

Vijayapâla seems formerly to have been a governor of the Paramâras of Dhârâ. He administered the territories in and around the modern village of Ingnoda, in the Dewas State. Shortly before the death of Naravarman, he appears to have deserted his overlord and declared his independence. An inscription [1] of his reign, dated Saṃ. 1190, Âṣâḍha = June, 1133 A. D., has been discovered on the wall of a newly built temple at Ingnoda. It records that Mahârâjâdhirâja-Parameśvara Śrî-Vijayapâla, son of M. P. Śrî Tihuṇapâla, grandson of M. P. Śrî Pṛthvîpâla, granted the village Agâsiyaka to the God Gohaḍeśvara, in the pathaka of Iṃgaṇapaṭa South. Iṃgaṇapaṭa is evidently the modern Ingnoda, where the record has been discovered. The inscription clearly shows that the disintegration of the Paramâra kingdom had begun since the latter part of the reign of Naravarman. But still more terrible calamities were awaiting Yaśovarman.

About this time the Paramâras were troubled by an invasion of the Câhamânas of Śâkambharî. Câhamâna Durlabha, who helped Udayâditya against the Caulukyas, was succeeded by Vigraharâja III, Pṛthvîrâja, and Ajayarâja (or Jayadeva). A stone inscription [2] found in Adhaidinka Jhonpra, Ajmer, reports that Ajayarâja conquered the country up to Ujjain. The Pṛthvîrâja-vijaya [3] tells us that Ajayarâja attacked and defeated

1 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 55.

2 It is now in the Ajmer Museum and has not yet been edited.

3 5th Sarga, V. 95.

Salhaṇa, the king of Mâlava. The Bijolian inscription[1] of Someśvara, dated 1169 A. D., reports that Jayadeva captured the daṇḍanâyaka Sulhaṇa in battle, tied him to the back of a camel, and brought him to Ajmer. Ajayarâja flourished sometime before 1139 A. D., which is the earliest known date of his successor Arṇorâja. The Mâlava king, who was his contemporary, was either Naravarman or Yaśovarman. Hence, the Bijolian inscription seems to be correct in describing Sulhaṇa as a daṇḍanâyaka.

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

Hemacandra was a contemporary of both Siddharâja and Yaśovarman. He relates[2] that, once upon a time, a "Yoginî" (a female ascetic) came to Siddharâja from Ujjain, and advised him to go to that holy city to worship Kâlikâ and other Yoginîs, if he were desirous of acquiring high religious merit. She impressed upon him the necessity of establishing friendly relations with Yaśovarman, in order to obtain permission to enter Malwa. At this Siddharâja became incensed and replied that he would secure his entrance there by force of arms and would take Yaśovarman prisoner. The Gujarat army then marched towards Malwa under his command. He was accompanied by the Nadula king, Âśârâja,[3] and by a Bhîl chieftain, whose assistance was of great value to him in that mountainous region. He reached the outskirts of the city of Ujjain without much difficulty, and pitched his camp on the bank of the Sipra. Yaśovarman offered a gallant opposition, but was defeated

1 J. A. S. B., Vol. LV, p. 41, v. 15. cf J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 272, footnote 5.

2 Dvyâśraya, Sarga XIV, vs. 5-74.

3 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 76, v. 26.

and taken prisoner. The whole of Avantideśa, with Ujjain, fell into the hands of Jayasiṃha, and was annexed to the Gujarat empire.

Merutuṅga does not say anything in particular about Jayasiṃha's conquest of Ujjain. He relates[1] that the king laid siege to the fort of Dhârâ, but having failed to capture it, was making arrangements to retreat. In the meantime, his minister Muñjala managed to procure the information that a careful attack on the southern gate of the fort, which offered the weakest defence, stood a good chance of achieving success. Jayasiṃha, as soon as he heard this, rushed with his elephant force to that spot, and after a strenuous effort, succeeded in capturing the city. Yaśovarman capitulated and fell a captive to the Caulukya monarch. After this event, the supremacy of Jayasiṃha was established over Malwa.

Though the accounts of these two Jaina scholars differ some what in detail, there is a general agreement between them regarding Siddharâja's complete success over Yaśovarman, which finds strong corroboration in many early records. The Sukṛtasaṃkîrttana[2] tells us that Jayasiṃha imprisoned Yaśovarman, the king of Dhârâ. Both the Surathotsava[3] and the Kîrtikaumudî[4] of Someśvara relate that Jayasiṃha defeated the Paramâras, conquered Dhârâ, the city of Naravarman, and threw its lord into wooden cage. The Dohad inscription[5] of the reign of Jayasiṃha, dated 1139 and 1145 A. D., informs us that the king cast the lords of

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 85-86.

2 Sarga XI, v. 34.

3 Grantha-Praśasti, vs. 31-33.

4 Sarga II, vs. 31-32.

5 Yena kârâgṛhe kṣiptau Saurâṣṭra-Mâlaveśvarau (I. A., Vol. X, p. 159, v. 2).

Saurâṣtra and Mâlava into prison. The Vadnagar praśasti of Kumârapâla,[1] dated 1151 A. D., states that Jayasiṃha fettered the proud king of Mâlava. The Prabandha caturviñjati[2] relates that Jayasiṃha, after his conquest of Mâlava, subdued the kingdoms of the south viz, Mahârâṣtra, Tilaṅga, Karṇâṭa, and Pâṇḍya. The Sundha hill inscription of Câcigadeva[3] records that Jayasiṃha secured assistance from the Câhamâna, Âśârâja, chief of Nadul, in his war against Mâlava

Siddharâja's victory over the king of Malwa was more than a mere military raid. He incorporated the country into his own empire by the complete overthrow of the Paramâra government. Merutuṅga says[4] that Siddharâja did not allow Mâlava to remain with Yaśovarman, but established his sovereignty there. A large number of Caulukya grants[5] of different dates ranging from V. S. 1263 to 1299, designate Siddharâja as

1 Dṛpyan-Mâlava-bhûpa-baṃdhana-vidhi-trastâkhila -kṣmâpatir
bhakty-âkṛṣṭa vitîrṇa-darśana-Siva (mû) tta-pra (bh)-âvodayaḥ ।
sadya siddha-rasânṛṇîkṛta-jagad-gitâpamâna-sthitir
jajñe Śrî-Jayasiṃha-deva-nṛpaṃtiḥ Siddhâdhirâjis-tataḥ ॥
v. 11.

(E. I., Vol. I, p. 297.) Read Śivo mûrtta ; sadyaḥ ; Jagad-gîtopa-mâna ; nṛpatiḥ; Siddhâdhirâjas.

2 Mâlava-deśa-svâyattîkaraṇânantaraṃ Dakṣiṇapathe Mahârâṣṭra-Tilaṅga-Karṇâṭa-Pâṇḍyâdi-râṣṭrâṇyasâdhayat ।
(I. A., Vol. XII, p. 200, footnote 13.)

3 Śrî-Âśârâja-nâmâ samajani vasudhâ-nâyakas tasya vaṃ-(baṃ) dhuḥ ।
sâhâyyaṃ Mâlavânâṃ bhuvi yadasi-kṛtaṃ vîkṣya Siddhâdhirâjaḥ ।
(E. I., Vol. IX, p. 76, v. 26.)

4 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 87, 115.

5 I. A., Vol. VI, pp. 191.

the lord of Avanti (Avantī-nātha). Mahādeva, son of Daṃḍa Dādāka of the Nagara race, was appointed governor of the province of Avanti by Siddharāja. A stone inscription of Jayasiṃha,[1] dated V. S. 1195 = 1138 A. D., found at Ujjain, tells us that the king, having defeated Yaśovarman, was holding Avanti-maṇḍala by force, and that Mahādeva was administering it on his behalf. As regards Yaśovarman, it is related that, within a short time, he managed to escape from the prison of Gujarat, with the help of the Cāhamānas of Ajmer. He seems to have come to terms with Jayasiṃha, and eventually to have ruled in Dhārā, or in some other part of Malwa, as his vassal. In his inscription, dated V. S. 1191, he is described as "Mahārājādhirāja," a designation denoting an independent sovereign, but in a record issued a year later, in V. S. 1192, he is found to assume the subordinate title of "Mahārāja". This apparently means that by the time the latter inscription was issued he had lost his position as a paramount sovereign. At any rate Malwa became part and parcel of the Gujarat empire between the years V. S. 1191 and 1193, the latter being the earliest known date of the inscription[2] of Jayasiṃha glorifying him as the lord of Avanti.

Malwa was not the only country that was annexed to the Caulukya kingdom during this period. Its northern boundary was extended up to Southern Marwar, where the Cāhamānas of Nadol acknowledged the sway of Jayasiṃha.[3] But this monarch's imperial policy ultimately failed. He could not lead a happy and glorious life in the later years of his reign. His feudatory the Cāhamāna Āśārāja, revolted against

1 I. A., Vol. XLII, p. 258.
2 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXV, p. 322.
3 E. I., Vol. XI, p. 32.

him.[1] Kaṭudeva, the son of Âśârâja, is found ruling southern Marwar independently of the control of the Anhilwara government.[2] But prior to this, the Paramâras of Malwa seem to have seceded from his control. The Dohad inscription[3] relates that Jayasiṃha appointed a commander for Dadhipadra and other districts (modern Dohad in Panchmahal, between Malwa and Gujarat), probably, as Professor Bühler remarks,[4] "in order to protect the high road to Mandu and Dhar—to keep it clear for his own troops, and to guard against incursions from this side." That Avanti was lost to Jayasiṃha is shown by the fact that his successor Kumârapâla, immediately after his accession to the throne, had to reconquer it from the lord of Ujjain.[5]

JAYAVARMAN.

Yaśovarman was succeeded by his son Jayavarman, who declared himself to be an independent sovereign by the assumption of the title Mahârâjâdhirâja.[6] This prince probably liberated his paternal territory from the domination of the Gurjaras some time about 1138 A. D. An undated inscription[7] of his reign has been discovered. In this record, issued from his residence at Vardhamânapura, he informs the officials and the people concerned that, while residing at Candrapurî, he has

1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 76.
2 Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 34.
3 I. A., Vol. X, p. 161.
4 Ibid., p 162.
5 Dvyâśraya, Sargas XVI-XIX.
6 I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 350.
7 Ibid., p. 350.

granted the village of Mâyamodaka, in the "Vaṭa-kheṭaka-Thirty-six," to a person living at Râjabrahma-purî, who had emigrated from Adriyalavidâvari, in the Dakṣiṇadeśa. The localities mentioned in the record cannot be identified.

Although Jayavarman succeeded in liberating his kingdom from the yoke of subordination, he could not long maintain his authority over it. The imperial power of the Paramâras had already been shattered, and Jayavarman could make no real attempt to recover his military power. Malwa was threatened with invasion from other quarters. The Candella Madana-varman (1128-1163 A. D.), a nephew of Naravarman's adversary, Sallakṣaṇavarman,[1] attacked Mâlava about this time. The Mau inscription[2] of his reign registers that he quickly overcame the king of Mâlava, who was full of arrogance. The Câlukya Vikramâ-ditya VI was succeeded by Someśvara III (1128-1138 A. D.), and Jagadekamalla II (1139-1149 A. D.). Jagadekamalla, at the head of a large army, fell upon Mâlava. Jayavarman could not withstand the on-slaught of this powerful enemy. He seems to have been severely defeated and killed on the battle-field. An inscription,[3] dated about 1157 A. D., records that Jagadekamalla destroyed the Mâlava king. Another inscription,[4] dated 1158 A. D., states that he left

1 I. A., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 127

2 Yenauddhatyaṃ dadhânaḥ sa ca sapadi samunmûlito Mâ-laveśa—
â-tanvanto yatra bhaktiṃ param avani-bhujaḥ svâsthyam anye ca bhejuḥ ॥
(E. I., Vol. I, p. 198, v. 15.)

3 Mysore Inscription, p. 58.

4 Ibid., p. 153.

Malâva without possession. A third inscription,[1] dated about 1165 A. D., narrates that he utterly despoiled the wealth of the Mâlava king. In this expedition Jagadekamalla seems to have been helped by his feudatory, Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha I, son of Viṣṇuvardhana. An inscription,[2] dated about 1150 A. D., reports that Narasiṃha overcame the Mâlava king. The Hunsur inscription,[3] dated 1162 A. D., corroborates this fact, and adds that his sword longed to devour the Mâlava king. The fact that Jayavarman lost his throne and kingdom is indirectly evidenced by the Bhopal grant[4] of Udayavarman. It relates that Lakṣmîvarman obtained the sovereignty by force, after the reign of Jayavarman had passed away.

The imperial Paramâra government thus suffered another terrible disaster, and this time had to remain without any political power for about a quarter of a century. This event must have occurred some time before 1143 A. D., the earliest known date of Lakṣmîvarman. After Jayavarman, a king named Ballâḷa held sway over Mâlava.[5] Nothing is known

1 Mysore Inscription, p. 61.

2 E. C., Vol. IV, K. P. 32, Introduction, p. 21.

3 Ibid., H. S., No. 137, cf. Ng, No. 30, dated 1164 A. D.

4 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 254.

5 Some are inclined to think that Ballâḷa is identical with Jayavarman (Downfall of Hindu India, Vol. III. p. 173, C. V. Vaidya). According to Merutuṅga's Vicâraśreṇî, the Cauḷukya Jayasiṃha died in Saṃ. 1199, Kârttika sudi 3, and his successor's coronation took place in Saṃ. 1199, Mârgaśira, sudi 4. We have valid reason to doubt the correctness of the above dates. Colonel Tod says that he found an inscription, which records that the Sahasraliṅga temple was completed by Jayasiṃha in Saṃ. 1202 (Travels in Western India, p. 142). The Dohad inscription, of the reign of Jayasiṃha, contains the dates Saṃ.

about his pedigree, and how he came to acquire his kingdom. This name was very common among the Hoysaḷas of Mysore. He might have been a scion of the Hoysaḷa dynasty, and have gained his fortune when Jayavarman was overthrown by the combined forces of the Hoysaḷas and the Câḷukyas. Ballâḷa, however, did not enjoy his fortune for long. He soon came into conflict with the Gujarat sovereign Kumârapâla by whom he was defeated and killed.[1] Kumârapâla then conquered Mâlava. Thus, through the inscrutable ways of Destiny, Malwa again became a

1196 and 1202 (I. A., Vol. X, p. 159). Professor Bühler, relying entirely on Merutuṅga's account, asserts that the latter portion of the Dohad inscription was a subsequent addition, made after the death of Jayasiṃha (ibid., p. 162). He further suggests that "a careful examination of the stone and of the letters would be necesssary in order to decide if the pillar, on which the Dohad inscription is engraved, belonged to the temple of Goganârâyaṇa or not, and if the letters of the last lines show any little differences from those of the first ten." (Ibid.). Mr. Burgess remarks that "rubbing shows no marked difference; but it is apparently made with a pencil, and is not quite satisfactory." (ibid., footnote 1.) The Bali stone inscription (E. I., Vol. XI, pp. 32-33) records that Jayasiṃha was ruling in Saṃ. 1200. It is obvious from this that Merutuṅga is wrong in fixing Saṃ. 1199 as the date of the death of Jayasiṃha. This leaves no ground for doubt that the latter portion of the Dohad inscription, containing the date Saṃ. 1202, was issued during the reign of Jayasiṃha. The earliest known date of Jayasiṃha's successor, Kumârapâla, is Saṃ. 1202, Âśvina (Prakrit and Sanskrit inscription of Kattywar, p. 158). He must have ascended the throne about this time. The defeat and death of Ballâḷa must have happened after this. Hence, he cannot by any means be identified with Jayavarman, whose reign came to an end before 1143 A. D.

1 Dvyâśraya, Sarga XIX; vide post chapt. IX.

province of the Caulukyas, who this time established their authority over it on a firmer basis. During this period the imperial Paramâra dynasty became lost in obscurity. There was no longer a "Udayâditya" in Malwa who could offer a strong resistance to the forces of the Caulukyas. Hence the inevitable consequences followed. The Paramâras remained submerged in the depth of the deluge that flooded Malwa for a long period of years.

CHAPTER VI.

PARAMÂRA MAHÂKUMÂRAS.

Kumârapâla, after the annexation of Malwa, turned his attention to its internal administration. He seems to have divided the country into a number of provinces, which he administered through his governors. The charge of the eastern division was entrusted to the Mahâsâdhanika Râjyapâla, whose headquarters were at Udayapur in Bhilsa.[1] In 1163 A. D., when this chief was in office, a certain personage, named Vasantapâla, made some donations for the maintenance of the temple of Udaleśvara at the town of Udayapur.[2] Kumârapâla died in 1172 A. D., and was succeeded by Ajayapâla (1172-1176 A. D.). During his reign, Lûṇapasâka was in charge of the government of this province.[3] In 1172 A. D., Lûṇapasâka, for the spiritual benefit of his father, granted the village of Umaratha, situated in the Pathaka known as Bhṛṃgârikâ-Catuḥṣaṣṭi, in favour of the God Vaidyanâtha, at Udayapur.[4] Here the record describes Udayapur as being situated in the province (maṇḍala) of Bhâilla-svâmi-mahâdvâ-daśaka (modern Bhilsa). This settles the eastern limit of the kingdom over which the Cauḷukyas asserted their supremacy in the third quarter of the twelfth century A. D. During this

1 I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 343.

2 Ibid., pp. 342-43.

3 Ibid., p. 347.

4 Ibid.

period, though the imperial dynasty of the Paramâras was lost in obscurity, some of its junior branches continued to rule over the old Paramâra kingdom south of the Vindhya mountains. Their ruling chiefs assumed the titles "Samadhigata-pañca-mahâ-śabd-âlaṃkâra-virâjamâna-mahâkumâra".[1] This means that they were great princes who attained the five "mahâ--śabdas." The following are the sources of evidence from which we may reconstruct their history:

A. The copper-plate grant of the Mahârâja Yaśovarma-deva,[2] dated V. S. 1192=1135 A. D.

B. The copper-plate grant of the Mahârâjâdhirâja Jayavarmadeva.[3] The genealogy given is—

P. M. P. Udayâditya
|
P. M. P. Naravarman
|
P. M. P. Yaśovarman
|
P. M. P. Jayavarman.

C. The copper-plate grant of the Mahâkumâra Lakṣmî-varmadeva,[4] dated Saṃ, 1200=1144 A. D. The kings mentioned are—

P. M. P. Udayâditya
|
P. M. P. Naravarman
|
P. M. P. Yaśovarman

Mahâkumâra Lakṣmîvarman.
Here the name of Jayavarman is omitted.

1 I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 352.
2 Ibid., p. 348.
3 Ibid., p. 349.
4 Ibid., p. 351.

D. The Piplianagar grant [1] of the Mahâkumâra Hariścandradeva, dated Saṃ. 1235 = 1178 A. D. In this the genealogy is given thus—

P. M. P. Udayâditya
|
P. M. P. Naravarman
|
P. M. P. Yaśovarman
|
P. M. P. Jayavarman
|
Mahâkumâra Hariścandra, son of Lakṣmîvarman.

Hariścandra is mentioned in the record as having obtained his territory through the favour of Jayavarman. [2] Lakṣmîvarman does not appear in it among the succeeding rulers. He is merely referred to in the concluding line of the inscription as the father of Hariścandra.

E. The Bhopal grant of the Mahâkumâra Udayavarmadeva,[3] dated Saṃ. 1256 = 1199 A. D. The kings referred to are-

P. M. P. Yaśovarman
|
P. M. P. Jayavarman
|
Mahâkumâra Lakṣmîvarman
|
Mahâkumâra Udayavarman.

1 J.A.S.B, Vol. VII, p. 736.

2 ... Śrî-Yaśovarmmadeva-pâdânudhyâta-parama-bhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-parameśvara-Śrî-Jayavarmmadeva ity etasmât pṛṣṭhatama-prabhoḥ prasâdâd avâpta-nijâdhipatyaḥ samasta-praśastopeta-samadhigata-pañca-mahâ-śabdâlaṃkâra-virâjamâna-mahâ-kumâra-Śrî-Hariścandra-devaḥ......iti | sva-hasto 'yaṃ-mahâ--kumâra--Śrî--Lakṣmîvarmmadeva--suta--mahâ--kumâra--Śrî-Hariścandra-deva-Paramâra-kula-kamala-kamala bandhoḥ ||
(J.A.S.B. ,Vol. VII, pp.737,739).

3 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 252.

It is stated that, after the conclusion of the reign of Jayavarman, Lakṣmîvarman obtained this sovereignty for himself by force of arms. [1] He was succeeded by Hariścandra's son Udayavarman. Hariścandra is not mentioned here as a successor of Lakṣmîvarman but merely as the father of Udayavarman.

F. The inscription of Arjunavarman, king of Dhârâ, dated 1210, 1213, 1215, A. D. [2] The pedigree is given thus—

Here Yaśovarman's successor is given as Ajayavarman and not as Jayavarman.

1 ......Jayavarmmadeva-râjye vyatîte nija-kara-kṛta-karavâla prasâdâvâpta–nij—âdhipatya—samasta—praśastopeta–samadhigata -pañca-mahâ-śavd(bd) âla(ṃ)kâra-virâjamâna-mahâkumâra-śrîmal -Lakṣmîvarmmadeva-pâdânudhyâta-samasta-praśastopeta-samadhi -gata-pañca-mahâ—śavd(bd) âlaṃkâra–virâjam(â)na–mahâkumâra Śrî-Hariścandra-deva-suta-Śrîmad-Udayavarmadevo vijay-odayî ‖
(I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 254.)

2 J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, pp. 25, 32 ; J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 378.

G. The Mandhata plate of Devapâla,[1] dated Saṃ. 1282=1225 A. D. The genealogy given here is the same as that in A., with the additional information that Arjunavarman was succeeded by Devapâla, the son of Hariścandra. In his Harsuda grant[2] Devapâla assumes the title "Samadhigata-pañca-mahâ-śabda," which connects him with the Mahâkumâra family. Hence there can be no doubt that his father, Hariścandra, was the same person as the son of Lakṣmîvarman.

Before proceeding to build up the history of the Mahâkumâra family out of the above materials, several facts must first be carefully considered. According to the Piplianagar grant, *Hariścandra obtained his dominion through the favour of Jayavarman.* The Bhopal grant, on the other hand, expressly states that Hariścandra's father, Lakṣmîvarman, made himself master of a principality by the force of his sword *when the reign of Jayavarman had come to an end.* It evidently follows from these two statements that Lakṣmîvarman and his son Hariścandra ruled over seperate territories.[3] This

1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 108.

2 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 310.

3 Professor Kielhorn reviews the situation in quite a different light, and draws the following conclusions from the above materials :—

"Yaśovarman had three sons, Jayavarman, Ajayavarman and Lakṣmîvarman. Soon after his succession (and certainly some time between Vikrama Saṃ. 1192 and 1200), Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman, who, and whose successors then became the main branch of the Paramâra family in Mâlava, and continued to style themselves 'Mahârâjas'. The third brother, Lakṣmîvarman however, did not submit to Ajayavarman, and, as stated in E, he succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Mâlava, which he and his son aud grandson de facto

finds strong corroboration in the fact that Udayavarman, the son of Hariśeandra, is described by the Bhopal grant as succeeding to the throne of Lakṣmîvarman without the intervention of Hariśeandra, who again excludes his father Lakṣmîvarman — in the

ruled over as independent chiefs. At the same time, Lakṣmîvarman and,after him, his son and successor, Hariścandra, looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Mâlava, and in my opinion, it is for this reason that Hariścandra, in the grant D, professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakṣmîvarman and Hariścandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of Mahâkumâra, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by, even Lakṣmîvarman's grandson Udayavarman." (I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 348.)

Professor Hall propounds another theory regarding the succession that followed the death of Yaśovarman. He says :—

"As Lakṣmîvarman sat on the throne with his sire, it is reasonable to suppose that he was the first-born. His father Jayavarman also speaks of himself as if a sovereign ruler. Lakṣmîvarman may have died while Hariścandra was still a child, and Jayavarman may have acted as regent on behalf of his nephew, to whom the government eventually devolved from him; if they did not administer it conjointly. Yet it is noticeable that Jayavarman granted away land at one period precisely as if he were the sole and substantive head of the state. Possibly the extreme youth of his ward prevented his being named at the time. Lakṣmîvarman being mentioned by his son, under the title of 'mahâkumâra,' and not as king, it may be that he deceased during the life-time of Yaśovarman. Hariścandra designates himself in a similar manner, where he would certainly have called himself without qualification, sovereign, had he laid claim to undivided power. His complete style, in fact, is that which his father used as prince regent. Policy or some other motive, may have dissuaded him from the style of full royalty, his hereditary right. It may therefore be conjectured that Jayavarman was still living in A. D. 1179." (J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 36.)

Piplianagar grant — as a ruler preceding him. A critical survey of the epigraphic records will show that all these are deliberate representations and not accidental omissions.

The fact that P. M. P. Jayavarman was the immediate successor of Yaśovarman, is borne out by Jayavarman's own inscription, the Piplianagar grant of Hariścandra, dated 1178 A. D., and the Bhopal grant of Udayavarman, 1199 A. D. But the inscriptions of Arjunavarman and Devapâla, the later rulers of the Paramâra dynasty, mention Ajayavarman instead of Jayavarman, as the successor of Yaśovarman. This leads me to think that Jayavarman was identical with Ajayavarman. Nothing is known as to the existence of enmity between Arjunavarman's family and the house of the 'Mahâkumâras', which as professor Kielhorn contends, prevented the former from mentioning the name of Jayavarman in the genealogical list of the ruling monarchs of Mâlava. It may rather be inferred that there was a close alliance between the two houses, which subsequently helped the peaceful succession of Devapâla, the son of the Mahâkumâra Hariścandra, to the throne of Arjunavarman. If Professor Kielhorn is taken to be right in his assertion, then no reason can be offered why Devapâla failed to mention

. With humble submission to the above two most erudite scholars of Indian history, I beg to differ from them in their views. According to the evidence of the inscriptions, there were two ruling houses of the Mahâkumâras. I am inclined to believe that Ajayavarman was the same as Jayavarman. About this time the imperial Paramâra government became obscure, and the whole of Malwa, with Dhârâ, became part of the Gujarat empire. Consideration of all these points has led me to review the subject in a different light, as I have shown above.

Jayavarman's name in his inscription. Through the favour of Jayavarman, Hariścandra obtained the territory over which his son Devapâla probably ruled in the early years of his life. As a matter of fact, the names 'Jaya' and Ajaya' were used interchangeably in early times. The Câhamâna Jayadeva king of Śâkambharî, was the immediate predecessor of Arṇorâja who was a contemporary of the Caulukya Kumârapâla. He is mentioned in some of the early records of his family as Ajayadeva.[1] If all these things are taken into consideration, there can hardly be any doubt as to the identification of Jayavarman and Ajayavarman as one and the same king. Keeping these things in view the relation of the mahâkumâras may be traced in the following way. Yaśovarman had two sons Jaya or Ajayavarman, and Lakṣmîvarman. Jayavarman, after his accession to the throne of his father, granted some territories to Lakṣmîvarman's son Hariścandra to administer on his behalf. When Ballâḷa conquered Malwa after overthrowing Jayavarman, Lakṣmîvarman secured by force of arms a part of the old Paramâra kingdom and established there a government of his own. This shows that there were two houses of the Mahâkumâras, which were intimately connected with each other, and which ruled over different territories.

In the light of the above discussion, I shall now try to narrate the short history of these collateral branches of the Paramâra family. The rulers of these families are justified in calling themselves 'Mahâkumâras', as they were members of the imperial house of Dhârâ. But why they continued to bear that subordinate title all through their reigns cannot be clearly explained.

1 J. A. S. B, Vol. LV, Part I, p. 4, v. 14. Cf. Pṛthvîrâja-vijaya, Sarga v, v. 85.

It may be suggested that they did not assume the title of independent kingship simply from motives of political expediency, in an endeavour to avoid hostility with their powerful enemies, the Caulukyas.

HARIŚCANDRA.

It has been noticed in the previous chapter that Jayavarman began his career as an independent monarch and ruled his dominion between the years A. D. 1138 and 1143. At the same time within this period he entrusted Hariścandra with the government of a portion of his kingdom. Hariścandra continued to rule his territory even when the imperial Paramâra family was completely overthrown by Ballâḷa, and Malwa was later on conquered by Kumârapâla. At present we have only one copper-plate inscription of Hariścandra's reign, which was found in the village of Piplianagar, in the Sujalpur pargana, Gwalior State, Central India.[1] It was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse in Saṃ. 1235 = 1178 A. D. Its object is to record that Hariścandra, having bathed in the holy water of the Narmada, near the temple of the four-faced Mârkaṇḍeśvara, granted two shares of the registered rents of the village of Palasavâḍâ to the learned Brahman Daśaratha, son of the learned Sindhu. It is further stated that, on the full moon of Vaiśâkha of the same year, he gave the remaining shares of the above village, with the addition of the shares of both customary dues from the bazaar below the fort of Guṇapura, to the Brahman Malvinu, son of the learned Delu. These grants were communicated to the Government officers, the inhabitants, patels, Brahmans and

1 J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 736.

others of the villages of Mamati and PalasavÂḍÂ, in the AmaḍÂpadra pratijÂgaraṇaka of the Nîlagiri-maṇḍala, for their information.

Of the localities mentioned above, I am inclined to identify Nîlagiri with the modern Nilgarh fort, south of the Vindhya, about a mile north of the Narmada.[1] Guṇapura seems to have been the modern Godurpura, on the south bank of the Narmada.[2] PalasavÂḍÂ is to be identified with the modern town of Palaswara, in the Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency, sixty-nine miles north of Malegaon. I am unable to identify AmaḍÂpadra and Mamati.

All these give us an idea as to what constituted the dominion of Hariścandra. It comprised the western portion of the old ParamÂra kingdom, south of the Vindhya. How long Hariścandra enjoyed his territory cannot be definitely ascertained. He ruled at least from A. D. 1144 to 1178. DevapÂla and Udayavarman were his two sons, of whom the former seems to have succeeded to the throne. It will be seen below that DevapÂla assumed the sovereignty of Malwa between the years A. D. 1215 and 1218, after the death of Arjunavarman.

LAKṢMÎVARMAN.

Lakṣmîvarman, the son of Yaśovarman, was a powerful chief. His elder brother, Jayavarman, seems to have been killed in battle against the CÂḷukyas of KarṇÂṭa. In that period of transition Lakṣmîvarman *collected strength, and forcibly took possession of the eastern part of the ParamÂra empire, south of the*

1 Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 55B; A3.

2 Ibid., A4. The place is also mentioned in VÂkpati-Muñja's grant, dated V. S. 1036, Vide ante, p. 46.

Vindhya. An inscription[1] of his reign has been discovered. In Saṃ. 1200=1144 A. D., on the occasion of the eclipse of the moon, he re-affirmed the grant made by Yaśovarman in Saṃ. 1191, with a view to increasing the religious merit of his father.

Of the localities mentioned in the record, the village Vaḍauda may be identical with Vaḍauda of the Mandhata plate of Jayavarman II,[2] where it is described as a village in Mahauḍapathaka. Professor Kielhorn is inclined to identify it with the modern village of Burud, about three miles north-east of Satajuna, which lies 13 miles south-west of Mandhata.[3] As regards the rest of the localities, I cannot offer any suggestion.

Lakṣmîvarman died some time before 1184 A. D. and was succeeded by his grandson Udayavarman, the son of Hariścandra.

UDAYAVARMAN.

An inscription,[4] dated Saṃ. 1256=1199 A. D, of Udayavarman's reign, has been discovered in a field at the village Uljamun, in the Bhopal State. It records that, after bathing in the river Revâ (Narmada), at a place called Guvâḍâghaṭṭa, he granted the village of Guṇaurâ to a Brahman named Mâlûśarman, the son of Yajñadhara. The village granted was situated in Voḍasirâ forty-eight, belonging to the Narmadâpura pratijâgaraṇaka, in the Vindhya-maṇḍala. The maṇḍalika kṣemvarâja was the 'dûtaka' of this grant.

1 I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 351, Vide ante, p. 164.
2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 121.
3 Ibid., p. 120.
4 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 252.

Mr. Fleet[1] identifies Guṇaurâ with the modern village of 'Ganora', seven miles south-west of Hoshangabad. Narmadâpura, according to him, is identical with the modern Hoshangabad District, and Guvâḍâghaṭṭa is the present village of Guaria, on the left bank of the Narmada. I think the modern Nemawar, on the right bank of the Narmada, represents the ancient Narmadâpura.

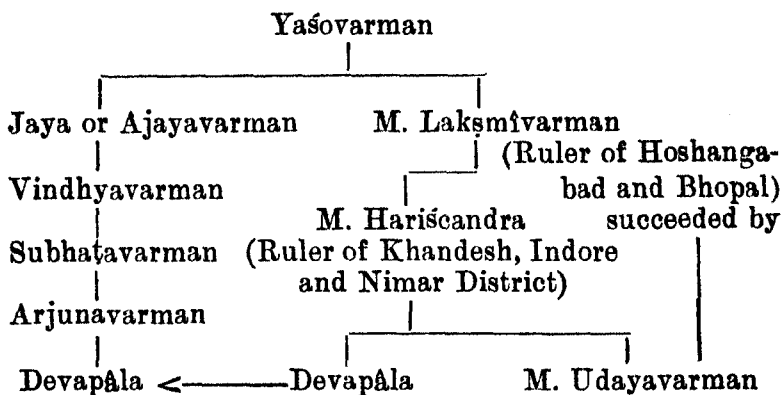
An inscription[2] of the reign of one Udayâditya, dated Saṃ. 1241 = 1184 A. D., is now lying in Bhopal. Another inscription[3] of the same chief, dated Śaka 1108 = 1186 A. D., is to be found in the 'Vidyâmandira', in the Bhopal State. In the latter part of the twelfth century A. D., no king of the name of Udayâditya is known to have ruled in Bhopal. The Bhopal grant, referred to above, bears witness to the fact that about that time Udayavarman was ruling over the Hoshangabad District and a part of the Bhopal State. In these circumstances, Udayâditya may very reasonably be identified with Udayavarman.

The reign of Udayavarman seems to have extended into the early years of the thirteenth century A. D. Nothing is known about his successors. Devapâla, after his accession to the throne of Malwa, issued a grant of land in the Hoshangabad District[4] in 1218 A. D. This shows that by that time the territory of Udayavarman had passed into his brother's hands.

From all the above circumstances, it follows that, when in the fourth decade of the twelfth century A. D.,

1 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 253.
2 J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35.
3 Bhûpâle bhûmipâl-o'yam-Udayâditya-pârthivaḥ ।
tenedaṃ nirmitaṃ sthânaṃ vasu-pûrṇeśvaraiḥ Śake ॥ (Ibid.)
4 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 310.

the main Paramâra dynasty was overthrown, and a Gujarat sovereignty was established in its place, two junior branches of the former house under the designation of '*Mahâkumâra*' *continued to* hold sway over the modern districts of Nimar, Hoshangabad and Khandesh. But, at last, early in the thirteenth century A. D., a member of this family succeeded to the main Paramâra kingdom, and reunited these branches with the main dynasty.

The genealogy of the Mahâkumâras :—

CHAPTER VII.

FALL OF THE PARAMÂRAS OF MALWA.

The downfall of the imperial Cauḷukya sovereignty in Gujarat, as a matter of fact, set in after the death of Kumârapâla in 1172 A. D. His nephew and successor, Ajayapâla (1172-1176 A. D.), was not highly talented, and lacked political wisdom and commanding personality. He persecuted the Jainas, and thereby created a hostile faction in the very heart of his realm. The Jaina temples were demolished and Râmacandra, a disciple of Hemacandra, was roasted alive.[1] The king's victory over the ruler of the Sapâdalakṣa country no doubt won laurels for him,[2] but his failure in other directions was terribly disastrous. About this time, the Guhila chief, Sâmantasiṃha, invaded Gujarat. In the encounter that followed, Ajayapâla received a severe wound, and being disabled, left the battlefield with a broken heart.[3] The prestige of the Cauḷukya sovereignty was saved in that fateful war by the Paramâra Prahlâdana, Prince of Abu, whose skilful management of the army forced the enemy to retreat.[4] After a short reign of four years, in 1176 A. D., Ajayapâla lost his life at the hand of his doorkeeper, who plunged a dagger into his heart.[5] Mûlarâja II (1176-1178 A. D.), who was called Bâla-Mûlarâja on

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 153.
2 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 186.
3 Someśvara's Surathotsava, Sarga I, v. 38.
4 E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 202, 211, v. 38.
5 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 154.

account of his extreme youth, succeeded him on the throne.[1]

RECONQUEST OF MALWA BY VINDHYAVARMAN.

When the Gujarat sovereignty was represented by these weaklings, the Paramâras once more tried to regain their ancestral home of Malwa. Vindhyavarman was the son of the deposed Jayavarman, who was, in my opinion, the same as Ajayavarman. Nothing is known about his early career. When all hope of recovering his father's dominions vanished, he seems to have tried his fortune in the south after the death of Jagadekamalla II in an invasion of the tottering Câḷukya empire. But his attempt was frustrated by Taila II, between the years 1150 and 1153 A. D.[2] During this period he probably ruled some part of Malwa south of the Vindhya mountain, or it may be that in his early days he lived as an honourable guest in the houses of the Mahâkumâras, and temporised for a fitting opportunity to fall upon the Gurjaras. The death of Kumârapâla removed a strong personality from the Anhilwar government, and the Gujarat sovereignty, as has been noticed above, fell into the hands of weak rulers. The situation thus became quite favourable to the plans of Vindhyavarman, who was so anxiously watching his opportunity. He marched his army to Malwa in the early part of the reign of Mûlarâja II, and, after a strenuous campaign, recovered the whole country with its capital Dhârâ from the grip of the Gurjaras. The Mandhata plate of Devapâla states that Vindhyavarman was eager to extirpate the Gurjaras, and

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 195.
2 E. I., Vol. V, p. 235.

rescued Dhârâ by force of arms.[1] This is corroborated by the inscription of Arjunavarman.[2] The Caulukyas, although handicapped by adverse circumstances, did not, however, let the matter pass so easily. Malwa was a great acquisition to the resources of the Gujarat empire. Kumâra, the general of Mûlarâja II, who was also a house-priest of the royal family of the Caulukyas, was despatched with a large army against Vindhyavarman. He put severe pressure upon the Paramâras, and seems to have achieved some preliminary victories. The Surathotsava[3] tells us that Kumâra, on behalf of his master, Mûlarâja II, fought a severe battle with Vindhyavarman, king of Dhârâ, who left the battlefield though puffed up with pride. A town named Gogasthâna, belonging to that monarch, was destroyed by him, and a well was sunk on the site of his palace. Kumâra also plundered the Mâlava country and took away all its

1 ...tasmâd Ajayavarmâbhûj jayaśrî-viśrutaḥ śu (su) taḥ ||
Tat-sûnur vvîra-mûrddhanyo dhanyotpati (tti) r ajâyata |
Gûrjaro-ccheda-nirvv(bb)aṃdhî Viṃdhyavarmâ mahâ
-bhujaḥ ||
Dhârayoddhṛtayâ sârddhaṃ dadhâti sma tridhâratâṃ |
sâṃyugînasya yasyâsis trâtuṃ loka-trayîm iva ||
(E. I., Vol. IX, p. 108).

On this Professor Kielhorn remarks that—"By itself the sword had two edges (dhârâ); the town of Dhârâ, retaken by it, became the third edge (dhârâ)."...(Ibid., p. 114, Footnote 2.)

2 J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 378, vs. 12, 13; J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 26, vs. 13, 12.

3 Dhârâdhîśe Vindhyavarmany avandhya-krodhâdmâte
'pyâjim utsṛjyayâte |
Gogasthânaṃ pattanaṃ tasya bhanktvâ saudha-sthâne
khânito yena kûpaḥ || 36
Gṛhîtaṃ kupyatâ kupyaṃ Mâlaveśvara-deśataḥ |
Dattaṃ punar Gayâ-śrâddhe yenâkupyam akupyatâ || 37.
(Someśvara's Surathotsava, Sarga V, Kâvyamâlâ, No. 72)

wealth, though he did not find there any gold or silver.

There can hardly be any doubt that Vindhyavarman ultimately emerged victorious, whatever misfortune might have overtaken him in the early stages of the war. It will be seen below that he was on the throne of Malwa in the tenth decade of the twelfth century A. D., long after the death of Mûlarâja II. Thus, after about a quarter of a century, Malwa resumed her life and work under the supremacy of the Paramâras. Vindhyavarman restored peace and order in the country, which in the course of a few years regained its normal state. The fear of attack from Gujarat was temporarily annulled by the state of anarchy which prevailed in that country shortly after the accession of Bhîma II to the throne of Anhilwar,[1] but in the south, the situation remained as complex as before.

In the second half of the twelfth century A. D., the Paramâras and the Cauḷukyas of Gujarat suffered indeed the loss of imperial position, but their southern neighbour, the Câḷukyas of Kalyani, met with a worse fate. Their government, after passing through a period of extreme stress and strain, became totally extinct by the ninth decade of the twelfth century A. D., and made room for another set of ruling dynasties. In 1162 A. D., the Kalacuri Bijjala, who was the general of the Câḷukya Taila III, ruled over the Deccan after overthrowing his master.[2] In 1167 A. D., he abdicated his throne in favour of his son Somadeva (1167-1177 A. D.,),[3] who was again succeeded by Saṅkama (1177-1181 A. D.). In 1182 A. D., Someśvara IV, successor of Taila III,

1 Kîrtikaumudî, Sarga II, v. 61.
2 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 473-477.
3 Ibid., p. 484.

recovered the throne of the Deccan, by putting an end to the rule of the Kalacuris.[1] But, before he could firmly establish his authority, the Yâdavas of Devagiri and the Hoysaḷas of Dorasamudra fell upon him, and divided his kingdom between them some time before 1189 A. D.[2] The Yâdavas found a strong king in the person of Bhillama (1187-1191 A. D.), who soon secured for his family the northern and eastern divisions of the Câḷukya empire.

But notwithstanding this new upheaval and the changes of dynasty in the Deccan, the danger of attack from that quarter to the Paramâra government was not removed. The imperial Câḷukya dynasty was, no doubt, extinct, but its ambition for extensive conquest was inherited by the usurpers. Invasions of Malwa from the south were of constant occurrence. The Kalacuri Soma[3] waged successful wars against the Mâlavas and the Gurjaras between 1167 and 1172 A. D. At this period, as has been pointed out, the Gurjaras occupied, by force of arms, the northern divisions of Malwa. The territories south of the Vindhya were ruled by the Paramâra Mahâkumâras. The Mâlavas defeated by the Kalacuris seem to have been those junior princes.

WAR WITH THE HOYSAḶAS.

Between A. D. 1173 and 1177 the Hoysaḷas under Ballâḷa II (1173-1220 A. D.) made a predatory excursion on Malwa. The Arsikere inscription,[4] dated 1177 A. D., records that, when Ballâḷa II mounted his horse for an expedition of victory, Gurjara trembled; Mâlava gained

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 464.
2 Ibid., p. 466.
3 E. I., Vol. XV, p. 325, Madagihal inscription.
4 E. C., Vol. V, A. K., No. 62.

the thickets of the Vindhya; Coḷika spent his time on the sea-shore. The Balagami stone inscription,[1] dated 1192 A.D., tells us that 'he wore out MÂlava by entering it with great force'. When the Hoysaḷas were thus ravaging the countries all around them, a league was formed by a number of ruling princes for putting an effective check upon their power. The leader of this confederacy was probably the Coḷa Kulottuṅga II (1178-1216 A. D.). Vindhyavarman was no less interested than his neighbours in the suppression of the rising Hoysaḷas. He joined the league and contributed armies for its success. The allied forces made an onslaught on Mysore and confronted the Hoysaḷas. But BallÂḷa II proved himself equal to the occasion, and successfully routed them. Gaṅga Narasiṃha was a feudatory of the Hoysaḷas. An inscription,[2] dated 1190 A. D., of his reign states that "The master of elephants, the MÂlava king, the warlike LÂla (LÂṭa), distinguished for his troops of horse, the GÛrjjara king with the Coḷa king, united came against him, but he by himself fought and subdued them in the field of battle, having received the command from the king BallÂḷa II,—this Narasiṃha". The Arsikere inscription,[3] dated 1209 A. D., says that BallÂḷa II was a fever to Coḷa, MÂlava, and GÛrjjara. The Kadur inscription,[4] dated 1207 A. D., reports that he trampled on the Coḷas and slew the MÂlava army.

WAR WITH THE YÂDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

The YÂdava Bhillama, who obtained paramount sovereignty in 1187 A. D., made an extensive scheme

1 Mysore Inscription, p. 104,
2 E. C., Vol. VI, Kd. No. 156.
3 Ibid., Vol. V, A. K. No. 40.
4 Ibid., Vol. VI, Kd. No. 127.

for military excursions in the north. He seems, in the first place, to have fallen upon the territory of Vindhya-varman, and to have made a successful raid over it. Next, having defeated the Caulukya Bhîma II (1179-1239 A. D.), he forced his way into southern Marwar, where his progress was checked by Kelhaṇa, the Câhamâna king of Nadol.[1] The Mutgi inscription[2] of his reign, dated 1189 A. D., describes him as "a severe pain in the head of the Mâlavas" and "the dread roar of a cloud to the flocks of those swans the Gûrjjaras," etc. At this time, Malwa and Gujarat were respectively under the rule of Vindhyavarman and Bhîma II. Bhillama's northern expeditions did not, however, win anything for him beyond empty glory. Vindhyavarman's reign continued for some time after that passing episode.

When the Yâdavas were thus keenly displaying their military skill in the north, and the Paramâras and the Caulukyas were busy defending their territories, Moslems under their great general, Shihâb-ud-dîn Muḥammad of Ghor, knocked again on the door of Hindustan. This time they came with the vision of establishing a Moslem empire in India. After a series of conflicts, which had been carried on during the last few years, the Moslems and the Hindus confronted each other on the battlefield of Taraori in 1192 A. D. Pṛthvîrâja, the great Câhamâna king of Ajmer, who only two years previously had inflicted a severe wound on Shihâb-ud-dîn and routed his army, found himself quite helpless on this occasion, owing to the callousness and indifference of the other princes of Hindustan. Pṛthvîrâja fell fighting on the battle-field, and the whole of Northern Hindustan together with Ajmer

1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 77, v. 34; Vol. XI, pp. 72-73.
2 Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 34-35, v. 9.

was taken possession of by the Moslems. The Moslems then began to persecute the peaceful Hindus. Devastation and plunder followed in their train. Temples were razed to the ground and idols overthrown and broken. Malwa and the countries beyond it became the resort of those who wished to save themselves from the tyranny of the plunderers. Âśâdhara, a Jaina teacher, narrates in his commentary on the Dharmâmṛta[1] that when the Sapâdalakṣa country was being subjugated by Sâhibavandina (Shihâb-ud-dîn), king of the Turuṣkas, he, being afraid of religious persecution, migrated with all his family to Malwa, which was then governed by the king Vindhya. Vijayavarman was another name for this sovereign. His minister of peace and war was Bilhaṇa. An inscription, discovered at Mandu,[2] also corroborates the fact that Bilhaṇa was in the ministerial department of this monarch. From the above account it follows that Vindhyavarman was on the throne of Malwa after 1193 A. D.

Vindhyavarman's prowess as an able soldier and an astute general can hardly be over-estimated. Though he suffered a defeat at the hands of the Hoysaḷas and the Yâdavas, he rendered immeasurable service to his family by re-establishing the Paramâra supremacy in Malwa. It was due to his boundless perseverance and untiring energy that Malwa became free from foreign control. Nothing is known as to the exact date at which his rule came to an end. He was succeeded by his son Subhaṭavarman, who was also known as Sohaḍa.[3]

1 Grantha-praśasti, v. 5 ff, commentary.
2 Unpublished.
3 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 154.

SUBHAṬAVARMAN.

No inscription of Subhaṭavarman's reign has been discovered. He was a worthy son of his father, and inherited all his military skill. The state of degeneration to which Gujarat was reduced, did not escape his attention, and it seems to have aroused in his heart a burning desire to avenge the wrong done to his family by its former rulers. We have seen that, since the accession of Ajayapâla, the Caulukyas had been rapidly degenerating into insignificance. The situation in Gujarat became more serious when Mûlarâja II's successor, Bhîma II, ascended the throne. His ministers and feudatories divided his kingdom among themselves, and began to rule as independent chiefs. In that troublous period Arṇorâja, son of the sister of Kumârapâla's mother, made a bold stand against all these odds for the protection of the sovereignty of Bhîma. But his attempt to reorganise the kingdom cost him his life. Then his son Lavaṇaprasâda, came forward and set himself to carry out the task left unfinished by his father.[1]

CONQUEST OF LÂṬA.

This state of disorder in Gujarat soon tempted foreign adventurers to plunder its riches. The southern king Bhillama,[2] and the king of Meru (Maru),[3] who seems to have been the Câhamâna Kelhaṇa or his successor Kîrtipâla, marched their army into the border of Gujarat, but were routed by Lavaṇaprasâda. To make matters worse, in 1194 A. D., the whole of the

1 Sukṛtasaṃkîrtana, Sarga III, vs. 19-20.

2 E.I., Vol. XV, pp. 34-35; ibid., Vol. I, p. 23, v. 18; Kîrtikaumudî, Sarga II, vs. 69, 74, 75.

3 E.I., Vol. I, p. 23, v. 18.

country was laid waste by Qutb-ud-dîn Aibak, who slew the Caulukya general, Kunwar Pal, and forced Bhîma II to flee for his life.[1] Subhaṭavarman lost no time in seizing this opportunity to advance with his army towards the Caulukya empire.

Since the latter part of the eleventh century A. D., the Anhilwar government had been asserting its supremacy over Lâṭa.[2] The Paramâra army seems to have directed its march in the first place, against this country. It was ravaged and conquered by Subhaṭavarman, and was finally incorporated into his dominion. He plundered its riches and destroyed and sacked a large number of Jaina temples. At this time the Lâṭa chief Siṃha, who was a feudatory of the Caulukyas, seems to have transferred his allegiance to the Paramâras.[3] The Sukṛtakîrtikallolinî of Jayasiṃha relates[4] that Vastupâla erected many buildings, repaired the temple of Pârśvanâtha at Stambhana, and restored nineteen golden capitals in the temple of Vaidyanâtha at Dabhoi, which had been taken away by Subhaṭa, king of Mâlava. The Vasantavilâsa[5] of Bâlacandra also narrates that the minister Tejaḥpâla repaired a series of Jaina temples

1 Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, p. 194; Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 43.

2 Navasari grant, J.Bo. Br., Vol, XXVI, p. 250.

3 Hammîra-mada-mardana, Aṅka II, p. 17.

4 Śrî-Mâlavendra-Subhaṭena suvarṇa-kumbhân-uttâritân
punar api kṣtipâla-mantri ।
Śrî-Vaidyanâtha-sura-sadmani Darbhavatyâm ekonaviṃśatim api prasabhaṃ vyadhatta ॥ v. 174. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. X.)

5 Tejapâla-sacivasya Bṛhaspaty-uñcchanaṃ bhavatu
viṣṭapam etat ।
Uddadhâra Jina-mâlaṃ Mâlavîya-dalitâm-abhito yaḥ ॥ v. 4.
(Sarga V, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. VII.)

which were demolished by the Mâlava army. That Lâṭa became, at this time, a part of the Mâlava kingdom cannot be doubted. Subhaṭavarman's successor, Arjunavarman, as will be seen later on, issued a grant while residing in Bhṛgukaccha, the capital of Lâṭa.[1]

INVASION OF GUJARAT.

The Paramâra army, after establishing a firm footing in Lâṭa, directed its march against the Gujarat capital Anhilwar. The city was stormed and burnt to the ground.[2] The whole of Gujarat was now at the mercy of Subhaṭavarman His armies carried all before them, plundering and devastating till they reached the gates of the city of Somanâtha in Saurâṣṭra. But at that point they were routed, and forced to retreat by Śrîdhara, a governor under Bhîma II. An inscription of the reign of Śrîdhara,[3] dated Saṃ. 1273=1216 A. D., tells us that "he quickly made again stable by the power

1 Vide post, p. 201.

2 Tasyâmuṣyâyaṇaḥ putraḥ sutrâma-śrîr athâśiṣat ।
bhûpaḥ Subhaṭavarmmeti dharmme tiṣṭhan mahî-talam ॥ 14
Yasya jvalati da(di)g-jetuḥ pratâpas tapana-dyuteḥ ।
dâvâgni-cchadmâ (dma) nâdyâpi garjjad-Gûrjjara
-pattane ॥ 15.

(E. I., Vol. IX, p. 121, Mandhata plate of Devapâla and Jayavarman II.) 'Pattana' here means Anahilapattana (E. I., Vol. IX, p. 114, fn. 3). In some Mount Abu inscriptions the word 'Pattana' is used as a substitute for that city ; cf. E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 224, No. XII and p. 229, No. XXXII.

3 ...(Mâlava tamâla)-vanâyamâna-senâ-gaja-prakara
-bhaṃguritâṃ bhuvaṃ yaḥ ।
(bhû)yaḥ sthiraṃ sapadi maṃtra-valena-kṛtvâ Śrî
-Devapattanam apâlayad âtma-śaktyâ ॥
(E. I., Vol. II, pp. 444-445, v. 42 ; p. 439, Śrîdhara's
Devapattana-praśasti.)

of his 'mantra' (by his political wisdom or charms) the country that had been shaken by the multitude of the (impetuous) war-elephants of Mâlava, resembling a forest of dark tamâla trees, and he protected glorious Devapattana by his own power."

Devapattana is identical with Somanâthapattana.

While Subhaṭavarman was thus traversing Gujarat from one end to the other, Lavaṇaprasâda, the minister of Bhîma II, collected a powerful army, and put up a successful opposition to him. Subhaṭavarman found it difficult to withstand this formidable contingent, and withdrew from Gujarat with all his armies. The Kîrtikaumudî,[1] when celebrating the magnificent achievements of Lavaṇaprasâda, tells us that the king of Nadula was defeated by him; on account of his stubborn opposition and personal valour, the king of Dhârâ had to retrace his steps, and the king of the Deccan avoided hostility. Merutuṅga[2] narrates that, during the reign of Bhîma II, Sohaḍa, king of Mâlava, attacked Gujarat, but retreated when the Caulukya minister made some inauspicious utterances. The Dabhoi inscription,[3] which is very fragmentary, records that "Lavaṇaprasâda, who was a repository of medicine-like valour, cured (his country) when the crowd of the princes of Dhârâ, of the Dakhin and of Mâlava, who resembled diseases, (attacked it)."

Professor Bühler thinks that it was Arjunavarman who was defeated by Śrîdhara (E. I., Vol. II, p. 439). But, in view of the fact that Subhaṭavarman entered into the interior of Gujarat and ravaged Anhilwar, I am inclined to identify him with the adversary of Śrîdhara. We have no evidence to prove that Arjunavarman ever forced his way into Gujarat.

1 Sarga II, vs. 69, 74, 75.

2 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 154.

3 E. I., Vol. I, p. 23.

All these evidences prove that Subhaṭavarman was unable to establish his authority permanently in Gujarat.

WAR WITH THE YÂDAVAS.

The cause of Subhaṭavarman's failure to hold Gujarat under his control may be traced to the fact that the situation on the southern border of his kingdom again became very serious, and urgently required his presence there. The Yâdava Bhillama was then dead, and had been succeeded by Jaitugi (1191-1210 A.D.). Jaitugi was as much ambitious as his valiant predecessor, and, within a short time of his accession, made a raid over Malwa. The Mâlava general, who seems to have been appointed to guard its southern boundary, sustained a defeat at his hands. An inscription from Mongoli,[1] dated about 1200 A. D., records that Jaitugi defeated a leader of the forces of Mâlava. It was after all nothing more than an ephemeral success, and the government at Dhârâ evidently did not suffer any material loss on account of it.

Subhaṭavarman was highly talented in the art of war. Some of his valorous activities have already been discussed, though our stock of knowledge regarding his further adventurous excursions, is very meagre. He merits the whole credit for incorporating Lâṭa into the Paramâra kingdom. He was pious and devoted to religious practices.[2] His son Arjunavarman succeeded him shortly before 1210 A. D.

ARJUNAVRMAN.

The coronation of Arjunavarman took place in the month of February, 1210 A. D. Three epigraphic records of his reign have been discovered.

1 E. I., Vol. V, p. 31.
2 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 108, v. 14.

(i) A copper-plate inscription [1] was brought to light while ploughing in the village of Piplianagar, in the Shujalpur pargana, Gwalior State. It was issued by Arjunavarman, on the occasion of his coronation, on the 10th day of Phâlguna, Saṃ. 1267 = February 1210 A. D., from the fort of Maṃḍapa. It records the grant of a village, named Piḍiviḍi, in the Sakapura pratijâgaraṇaka, to his priest Govinda. Govinda was a resident of Muktâvastu. His father was Jaitrasiṃha, who was the son of Somadeva and the grandson of Delhana Avasavika. The record was written by the 'Râja Guru' (royal preceptor) Madana, with the concurrence of the learned Bilhaṇa.

Of the localities mentioned, Maṃḍapa is the modern Mandu, in the Dhar State. I am inclined to identify Sakapura pratijâgaraṇaka with Shujalpur pargana, and the village Piḍiviḍi with Piplianagar, where the record was unearthed.

(ii) The second inscription [2] registers the fact that Arjunavarman, on the 15th Âṣâḍha, having bathed at the holy place of Somavatî, entrusted to the charge of his family-priest, Govinda, the temple of Daṇḍâdhipati, in the city of Mahâkâla. Now on the 15th of Vaiśâkha, Saṃ. 1270 = April, 1213 A. D., on the occasion of a solar eclipse, while residing at Bhṛgukaccha, he notifies to all the royal officials, Brahmans, residents, village-headman, people and others concerned, that he granted to the same priest the village of Uttarâyaṇa, attached to Sâvairisola. The record was drawn up by the royal preceptor, Madana, with the acquiescence of the minister of peace and war, the learned Bilhaṇa. Sâvairisola probably means a group of sixteen villages

1 J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 378.
2 J. Am. O. S, Vol. VII, p. 33.

called Sâvairi, which may be identified with Savda, a town in the Khandesh District, north of the Tapti. Bhṛgukaccha is evidently the modern Broach, and Mahâkâla is Ujjain. I cannot offer any suggestion for Uttarâyaṇa.

(iii) The third inscription[1] of the king's reign was issued when he was residing in the holy place of Amareśvara. There, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, Saṃ. 1272 = September, 1215 A. D., after bathing at the junction of the Revâ and the Kapilâ and worshipping the lord of Bhavânî, Oṃkâra, he granted Govinda Śarman some tracts of land in the village of Hathiṇâvara, situated on the north bank of the Narmada, in the pratijâgaraṇaka of Pagârâ. This record was also composed by the royal preceptor Madana, with the consent of Râja Salakhaṇa, the minister of peace and war. Amareśvara is the well-known place of pilgrimage, near the island of Mandhata, on the south bank of the Narmada. The Kapila takes its rise in the high land of Khandesh, and disembogues opposite the temple of Oṃkâra Mandhata, east of the Churar. The modern state of Pagar, in the Hoshangabad District, probably represents the ancient Pagârâ. I am unable to identify Hathiṇâvara.

Arjunavarman assumed the title of Trividhavîracûḍâmaṇi.[2] Nârâyaṇa was his chief minister,[3] and Bilhaṇa was his minister of peace and war. Bilhaṇa was relieved of his office for some time by Râja Salakhaṇa, who seems to have been the father of the great Jaina teacher Âśâdhara.

1 J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 25.

2 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 102, v. 7; J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 26.

3 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 196.

WAR WITH THE CAUḶUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

Arjunavarman continued the war with the Cauḷukyas. During his rule the Gujarat kingdom sank into a still more deplorable condition. Shortly before 1210 A. D., a usurper, named Jayasiṃha, deposed Bhîma II, and wielded for some time the[1] sovereignty of Anhilwar. An inscription of Jayasiṃha's reign, dated 1223 A.D., has been discovered,[2] where he styles himself the sovereign lord of Gujarat. The other provincial governors, however, did not acknowledge his authority and stilll regarded Bhîma II as their suzerain lord. When Gujarat was thus parcelled out among rival factions, Arjunavarman advanced against it with his elephant forces. He met with Jayasiṃha in the valley of the Parva mountain. Jayasiṃha could not withstand the attack of his enemy's force and fled away. Subsequently a treaty seems to have been concluded between the two kings by which Jayasiṃha's daughter Vijayaśrî was given in marriage to Arjunavarman.[3]

1 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 196.

2 Ibid.

3 Professor Hultzsch offers two suggestions for the identification of Jayasiṃha as mentioned in the Paramâra grants. (E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 99.) The first supports Mr. Hall's view that Jayasiṃha was no other than Bhîma II. Mr. Hall remarks that "Bhîma II is called, in one inscription, 'a second Siddharâja', Siddharâja having been the title of one of Jayasiṃha's ancestors. May not Bhîma have been popularly called 'a second Jayasiṃha' also? If so, there was a taunting appositeness in Arjuna's choosing to give him this designation, dropping the qualification of 'second'; since the real Jayasiṃha aggressed on Mâlava, took Dhârâ by storm, defeated Arjuna's predecessor, Yaśovarman, and carried him captive to Analavata." (J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, pp. 39-40.)

The earliest known record which contains this fact of Jayasiṃha's flight is the Piplianagar grant of Arjunavarman, dated 1210 A. D. The other two records of the same monarch and the inscriptions of Devapâla and Jayavarman also corroborate Jayasiṃha's defeat.[1] All of them simply mention the name of the vanquished chief, and give no details about his political relations. In Jayavarman's grant the name is given as Jaitrasiṃha, instead of Jayasiṃha.[2] The Dharpraśasti of Arjunavarman furnishes us with rather more detailed

The second suggestion is that Jayasiṃha might have been the same as Jayantasiṃha Abhinava-Siddharâja, who temporarily usurped the throne of Bhîma II. I subscribe to this second view, with Professor Kielhorn (E. I., Vol. IX, p 118, footnote 2), though there is some difficulty in accepting it unreservedly. An inscription, dated 1216 A. D., issued by Śrîdhara, the governor of Somanâthapattana, and another inscription, dated 1218 A. D., issued by Sâmantasiṃha, the governor of Saurâṣṭra, (E. I., Vol. II, p. 439; Prakrit and Sanskrit inscription of Kattywar, p. 205), describe Bhîma II as their overlord, who is reported to have been ruling in Anhilwar. The only definite date of Jayasiṃha's rule that is known is 1223 A. D. If he is assumed to have been defeated by Arjunavarman between the years 1209 and 1210 A. D., it should be maintained, according to the above two private grants, that his rule was interrupted by Bhîma II between 1215 and 1218 A. D. This hypothesis seems quite unlikely. The situation, which is apparently very anomalous, may be viewed in another way. Jayasiṃha was no more than a usurper. Though he occupied the throne of Anhilwar by force of arms, the provincial governors of Gujarat did not acknowledge his authority, and might have continued to regard Bhîma II as their suzerain lord.

1 Deva-bhûyaṃ gate tasmin naṃdano' RJJUNA-bhûpatiḥ। doṣṇâ dhatte' dhunâ dhâtrî-valayaṃ valayaṃ yathâ. ॥ 16. Vâ (bâ)-la-lîlâhave yasya Jayasiṃhe palâyite.........

(E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 108-109.)

2 Ibid., p. 121, v. 17.

information about this battle. It was found engraved on a slab of stone in the Bhojaśâlâ, at Dhar.[1] It was composed by the royal preceptor Madana, and contains the two first acts of a drama of four acts, called Pârijâta-mañjarî or Vijayaśrî. The remaining portions are lost. It was first staged in the temple of Sarasvatî,[2] at Dhârâ, in the spring festival, when Arjunavarman was ruling in Mâlava. The king is described as the son of Subhaṭa and a descendant of the great Bhoja.

The dramatis personae are :—

Sutradhâra	...	The stage manager.
Naṭî	...	The actress.
Arjunavarman	...	The king.
Kañcukin	...	The Chamberlain.
Kusumâkara	...	The royal gardener.
Vidagdha	...	The Jester.
Vayasya	...	The royal companion.
Sarvakalâ	...	The Queen.
Kanakalekhâ	...	The Queen's maid.
Vasantalîlâ	...	The wife of Kusumâkara.
Pârijâtamañjarî or Vijayaśrî	...	The daughter of Jayasiṃha, the king of Gujarat.

The scene of the first act, entitled "Vasantotsava" (the spring festival), is the top floor of the royal palace, and that of the second act, entitled "Tâḍaṅka-darpaṇa," is the pleasure-garden on the hill of Dhârâ. The main theme of the play is as follows :—

Upon one occasion, in the valley of the Parva mountain, the Trividhavîracuḍâmaṇi Arjunavarman was

1 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 101.

2 Ibid., p. 103, vs. 4, 9.

engaged in a battle with Jayasiṃha,[1] the king of the Gurjaras. Jayasiṃha, being severely defeated, fled from the battlefield.[2] The Paramâra king, who was then mounted on his war elephant, found a "pârijâta-mañjarî" (a cluster of blossoms of a celestial tree) falling on his breast, which, when he touched it, immediately turned into a beautiful maiden. She was the daughter of the Caulukya king, and her name was Jayaśrî.[3] Arjunavarman heard a heavenly voice, asking him to enjoy her. She was taken to Dhârâ and was placed under the care of the gardener Kusumâkara. Her residence was fixed in the emerald pavilion on the hill of Dhârâ, where she was attended by Kusumâkara's wife, Vasantalîlâ.

Sarvakalâ, the queen of Arjunavarman, who was the daughter of the Kuntala king,[4] was performing the 'Madhu' ceremony in a pleasure-garden on the hill of Dhârâ. The king, attired in the robes of spring and accompanied by his jester, entered the garden in order to watch the ceremony. Vijayaśrî and Vasantalîlâ were also witnessing it from behind a tree, screened from notice. Vasantalîlâ moved aside the branch of

1 Trividha-vîra-cuḍâmaṇeḥ sârvabhauma-Śrî-Bhojadevânvaya -mûrddhanyasya râjñaḥ Śrîmad-Arjunavarma-devasya Gûrjara -patinâ Jayasiṃhena saha Parva–parvatopatyakâ—parisareṣu Hiraṇyakaśipu--kadana--kupita—vaikuṃṭha—kaṃṭhîrava—kaṃṭha -nâda–cakita--digvâraṇeṃdra--mukta--viśvaṃbharâ--nipatanodvela -saptârṇṇava--lahari--saṃpheṭa—tulya—tumula—kolâhalaḥ kalaho va(ba)bhûva. ‖ (E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 102, ll. 7-8.)

2 ··· prativa(ba)le palâyamâne jaya-siṃdhura-skaṃdhâdhirûḍhasya ... (ibid., line 9.)

3 Cauḷukya-mahî-maheṃdra-duhitâ devî Jayaśrîḥ...
(Ibid., p. 103, line 11.)

4 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 103, v. II.
Kuṃtaleṃdra-sutâ seyaṃ râjñaḥ Sarvakalâ priyâ.

a tree, and, in doing so, revealed Vijayaśrî's face, which was at once reflected on the ear-ring of the queen, engaged at the moment in the ritual of the ceremony. The king, however, noticed the occurrence, and was moved with joy. The sudden change in his expression aroused the suspicion of the queen, and, upon ascertaining the cause, she immediately left the garden in anger, accompanied by her maid. The king followed her, and endeavoured to appease her wrath, but all to no purpose, until at last he promised to forsake the company of Vijayaśrî.

The heroine, broken-hearted and distracted with grief, threatened to commit suicide, and finally departed, followed by Vasantalîlâ.

Here ends the second act. The remaining portions being lost, nothing is known as to the conclusion of the drama. It may be surmised that the king eventually succeeded in obtaining the queen's consent to his marriage with Vijayaśrî, and that the drama closed with their conjugal union.

The main back ground of this play seems to have been based on actual facts.

It has been shown in a foregoing chapter, that the chief object of Padmagupta's Navasâhasânka-carita was to celebrate Sindhurâja's union with a princess of the Nâga family. Candaladevî, the heroine of the Vikramânkadeva-carita, is considered to have been the real name of the queen of the Câḷukya Vikramâditya VI.[1] The fight between Arjunavarman and Jayasiṃha is evidenced by many contemporary records. Hence I agree with Professor Hultzsch[2] in thinking that the chief personages in the above play were real and not

1 Vikramânkadeva-carita, Introduction, pp. 38—Bühler,
2 E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 100-101.

imaginary beings. Sarvakalâ seems to have been the daughter of the Hoysaḷa Vîra-Ballâḷa II (1172-1219 A.D.) who warred with Vindhyavarman. Merutuṅga also refers to Arjunavarman's victory over Gujarat, though he does not mention the name of his opponent.[3]

WAR WITH THE YÂDAVAS.

Arjunavarman was greatly troubled by an invasion from the south. The Yâda[illegible] force, [illegible] raided Malwa during [illegible] was taken [illegible] Jaitugi, who was [illegible] high under the [illegible] reign of subhaṭavarman, proved his [illegible] military valour by slaying three kings of Kaliṅga and capturing the Andhra country, where he released a certain Gaṇapati from captivity.[4] His successors, Siṅghana (1209-1241 A. D.) was no less powerful.[5] He defeated the Moslems, overthrew the Hoysaḷa Vîra-Ballâḷa II, and humbled the power of the king of Andhra, Kakkalla, lord of Bhambhâgiri, and the Śilâhâra Bhoja of Kolhapur. In the course of his northern march, he attacked Lâṭa and Mâlava. Arjunavarman and his feudatory, Sindhurâja of Lâṭa,[6] did their utmost to check his progress, but failed miserably. Sindhurâja seems to have lost his life in the encounter. The Bahal inscription,[7] of Siṅghaṇa, dated 1222 A. D., and the Paithan plates[8] of his remote successor, Râmacandra, record his victory over one Arjuna, who was none other than king Arjunavarman of Malwa. The Hammîra-madamardana relates that Sindhurâja was

3 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 154.
4 I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 314.
5 Ibid.
6 Vide post, p. 212.
7 E. I., Vol. III, p. 113.
8 I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 316, line 27.

killed by Siṅghaṇa.[1] But this excursion of the Yâdava army was entirely of a predatory nature and could not produce any permanent effect.

On the whole, the reign of Arjunavarman was one of peace and order. The Pârijâtamañjarî sets before us the high state of civilisation that gloried Malwa during this period. The people lived their lives in joy and happiness, and their social activities were marked by refined taste. Arjunavarman, like his predecessor Bhoja, was not only a patron of learning, encouraging in others the cultivation of literature, but himself a great poet.[2] Madana was his court poet and Âśâdhara, the great Jaina author, lived in his kingdom, in the city of Nalakacchapura (modern Nalcha). He closed his reign shortly before 1218 A. D. No son seems to have been born to him, and the succession devolved upon Devapâla, son of the Mahâkumâra Hariścandra.[3]

DEVAPÂLA.

In his early years, Devapâla seems to have ruled in Khandesh as a successor to his father, Hariścandra. It is highly probable that he became the ruler of Hoshangabad, Nimar, and Bhopal after the death of his brother, Udayavarman. It was by sheer chance that he obtained the throne of Malwa. It is probably on this account that he claims to have obtained his royalty as a boon through worshipping the goddess Limbâryâ.[4] He assumed the title of Sâhasamalla.[5]

1 Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. X, p. 17.
2 Vide post, Chapt. VIII.
3 Vide ante, Chapt. VI, p. 184.
4 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 311.
5 *Jina-yajña kalpa*, by Âśâdhara,

Four inscriptions of his reign have been discovered. (i) A stone [1] found in the ruins of a temple in the village of Harsauda, 10½ miles from the town of Charwa, in the district of Hoshangabad, in the Central Provinces, contains the earliest dated inscription of his reign. It was issued by Keśava, the younger brother of the merchant Ḍhala, a son of Bilhaṇa, who was a son of Dosi, an inhabitant of Uṃdapura, when the Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Devapâladeva was ruling at Dhârâ. The object of the inscription is to record that in Saṃ. 1275=1218 A. D., Keśava built a temple of Śambhu, together with a tank, on the north-eastern side of Harṣapura, close to which he also set up idols of Hanumat, Kṣetrapâla, Gaṇeśa, Kṛṣṇa, Nakulîśa, Ambikâ, and others. This Harṣapura is evidently the modern Harsauda, where the inscription was found.

(ii) Three plates [2] were found near the temple of Siddheśvara at Mandhata, an island in the Narmada, in the Nimar District of the Central Provinces. They record that the king Devapâla, granted the village of Satâjuṇâ, situated in the Mahuaḍa pratijâgaraṇaka, to a number of Brahmans, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in Saṃ. 1282=1225 A. D. The village was split up into a number of shares and then distributed among the donees. The deed was issued from the king's residence at Mâhiṣmatî. All persons concerned were asked to pay the customary shares of their produce and money rent to the aforesaid Brahmans. It was composed by the royal preceptor Madana, with the approval of the learned Bilhaṇa, the minister of peace and war.

Mâhiṣmatî is to be identified with the modern Maheshwar, a town in the Indore State, Central India

1 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 310.
2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 103.

Agency, on the north bank of the Narmada. Satâjuṇâ is the village Satajuna, about 13 miles southwest of Mandhata. Professor Kielhorn suggests the identification of Mahauḍa with the village Mahod, about 25 miles south of Satajuna.[1] (iii) The remaining two records[2] of the king's reign were discovered inside the entrance of the great temple of Udayapur in Bhilsa. One is dated Saṃ. 1286, Kârttika sudi, which corresponds to 1229 A. D., and the other is Saṃ. 128(9?), the last numeral being indistinct. Professor Kielhorn suggests with great doubt that it is "9". If he is right, the date corresponds to 1232 A. D. The second inscription was issued when Mahârâjâdhirâja Devapâla, "the ornament of kings", was residing in Udayapur.

All these inscriptions of Devapâla, together with those of Arjunavarman, go to prove that, in the early part of the thirteenth century A. D., the Paramâra kingdom extended at least as far as Udayapur on the east, Hoshangabad and Nimar Districts on the south, and the Broach District on the west. The later inscriptions[3] of the dynasty will show that it retained its boundary up to Jhalawar State on the north, and up to a part of the Sagor District on the east. But Vâgaḍa was lost to it, never to return. It had become a part of the Guhila kingdom of Mewar since the middle of the twelfth century A D. From all this it may be surmised that the later Paramâra rulers, although they could not follow in the footsteps of their predecessors in the execution of imperial schemes, yet succeeded, with few exceptions, in regaining nearly the whole of their ancestral dominions.

1 E. I., Vol IX, p. 106.
2 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 83.
3 Vide post, p. 201.

In the reign of Devapâla, Bilhaṇa, who had, for a time, retired from the administrative department of the government, resumed his office as minister of peace and war.

Since the liberation of Malwa from the domination of the Cauḷukyas, the military power of the Paramâra government had been entirely occupied with the destruction of Gujarat. Subhaṭavarman and Arjuna-varman made successful raids over it, but, before ever they could establish their authority there, invasions from the Deccan forced them to withdraw their forces from the west and to array them on their southern border for the defence of their own realm. It has been noticed already that the Câhamâna Sindhurâja of Lâṭa was killed in the battle with Yâdava Siṅghaṇa. His son was Saṃgrâma-siṃha, also known as Śaṅkha. The Hammîra-mada-mardana describes him as the son of Sindhurâja and the nephew of Siṃha, king of Lâṭa-deśa.[1] He is further described, in the same work, as the feudatory of the Mâlava king, Devapâla.[2] Merutuṅga[3] calls him a chieftain of Broach[4] (Mahâsâdhanika). The Vasanta-vilâsa mentions him as a king of Lâṭa.[5]

1 Sindhurâja-tanu' janmano Lâṭa-deśâdhipa-Siṃha-bhrâtṛvya (Aṅka I, p. 5).

2 Śrî-mahârâja-Devapâladevaḥ Saṃgrâmasiṃha-maṇḍaleś-varaṃ samâdiśati । (Aṅka II, p. 17). Devapâla is described below as the king of Mâlava (Mâlavîya-râya). Ibid., p. 18.

3 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 162.

4 Albêrûnî (1030 A. D.) says that Bihrôj (Broach) was one of the capitals of Lârdêsh (Lâṭa). (Sachau, Vol. I, p. 205.)

5 Stambha-tîrtha-nidhanena dhanâya Śaṅkha ityabhidhaya samaye' smin ।
Lâṭa-deśa-nṛpati Bhṛgukacchâd uccacâla calad-aśva -bala-śrîḥ ॥
(Vasantavilâsa, Sarga. V, v. 16.)

ŚAṄKHA.

This Śaṅkha was the most prominent figure in Lâṭa during this period. He was ruler *de facto*, if not *de jure*, and his foot is said to have been decorated with a golden chain with the images of twelve feudatory chiefs. His skill in warfare was marvellous. He was engaged in fighting with both his northern and southern neighbours, viz. the Yâdavas of Devagiri and the Caulukyas of Gujarat. Some time previously, Vîradhavala, the son of Lavaṇaprasâda, had seized Cambay, which was in the territory of Lâṭa, and had annexed it to the Caulukya empire.[1] Vastupâla was appointed to govern this new possession, and, although Śaṅkha greatly resented this action, he was unable to take any active steps about it, as he was hard pressed at the time by the Yâdava Siṅghaṇa from the south. Moreover, it is probable that he could not rely on the support of his overlord, the king of Malwa, since, on a former occasion, when his uncle Siṃha was attacked by Siṅghaṇa, the Mâlava king had become alarmed, and had withdrawn his support, leaving him in the lurch.[2]

Shortly after Śaṅkha's accession, the Yâdavas made a heavy attack upon Lâṭa, and advanced as far as the Narmada, but they were severely defeated and repulsed by his powerful arms.[3] About this time, he was attacked by the sons of Arṇorâja from the north, but he was saved from catastrophe by the timely intervention of the Mâlava king. Not long after, another attempt was made by the Yâdavas to crush the power of the Lâṭa dynasty. This time, Śaṅkha was taken prisoner by the leader of the Yâdava army, and was produced

1 Vasantavilâsa, Sarga V, Introduction, p. VI.

2 Hammîra-mada-mardana, Aṅka I, p. 4.

3 Vasantavilâsa, Sarga V, vs. 24-43.

before Siṅghaṇa. Subsequently, he obtained his release by asserting his influence over the Yâdava king.[1] After that, a treaty seems to have been concluded between Siṅghaṇa, on the one hand, and Devapâla and his feudatory, Śaṅkha, on the other. This gave Śaṅkha a respite, and an opportunity to make an attempt at the reconquest of his ancestral territory of Cambay.

WAR AGAINST GUJARAT.

Events turned in favour of Śaṅkha when, about that time, serious trouble broke out on the northern border of the Gujarat empire, owing to the invasion of the Marwar kings. Vîradhavala hurried his army to the seat of the disorder, leaving Vastupâla to keep watch on the south. At this opportune moment Śaṅkha sent an embassy to Vastupâla, demanding the surrender of Cambay, which had belonged to his predecessors. By way of threat he reminded him that no one would be able to withstand his arms, which had once repulsed even the powerful Siṅghaṇa, at the same time promising him that, if he would acknowledge his overlordship, he would raise him from his insignificant position as governor of a port to the high status of the chief of a province. But neither threat nor bribe tempted the Cauḷukya minister. He bravely refused to submit to the demand, and told the embassy to inform its master that, while he was glad to learn that Śaṅkha had vanquished the Yâdava king, he, at the same time, regretted that the latter should have had to put on fetters in the prison of his former victim. He begged leave to mention further that the claim of his (Vastupâla's) master on Cambay far exceeded Śaṅkha's hereditary right thereto, since Vîradhavala had acquired it by force of arms.

1 Vasantavilâsa, ibid.

In face of this reply, Śaṅkha at once declared war and advanced to the side of the tank called Vaṭa, supported by an ally named Saida, a merchant in Cambay. Bhuvanapâla, of the Gula family, fought on the side of Vastupâla. He lost his life on the battle-field at the hand of Śaṅkha himself. When nine great warriors of Vastupâla's army fell fighting in the battle, he himself came forward and killed many soldiers, mistaking each of them for Śaṅkha. At last he came upon the real Śaṅkha, and darted his spear against him, only to see it shattered to pieces by the latter. Śaṅkha, however, was forced ultimately to flee away, having failed to resist this fresh attack.[1]

After this discomfiture, Devapâla and Śaṅkha made a coalition with the Yâdava Siṇghaṇa for the invasion of Gujarat. The departure of Vîradhavala to the north in order to repel a Moslem attack there greatly facilitated their task. The Hammîra-mada-mardana[2] is a drama in five acts, written by Jayasiṃha Sûri, the pupil of Vîra Sûri, between Saṃ. 1276 and 1278 (1219-1221 A. D.), and was acted on the occasion of the festival of the procession of the god Bhîmeśvara, at Cambay. It deals with a particular occasion upon which Vîradhavala, had to meet a very critical situation. The Yâdava Siṇghaṇa having been joined by Saṃgrâmasiṃha (Śaṇkha), was marching from the south to attack his kingdom ; the

1 Hammîra-mada-mardana, Aṅka I ; Vasantavilâsa, Sarga V ; Someśvara's Kîrtikaumudî, Sarga V ; Merutuṅga's Prabandha-cintâmaṇi, p. 162 ; Sukṛtakîrtikallolinî, vs. 138-140. Jinaharṣa's Vastupâla-Carita.

2 Dhârâ-patir Dakṣiṇa
yugapa (t sa) metau ।
dhîras tayor eva samâna-taṃtraṃ
ṇikâ——ḍhaś çakâra ॥ (E. I., Vol. I, p. 28, v. 45.)

Mâlava king, Devapâla, was advancing from the east, and the Turuṣkas were already at the northern gate of his realm. In that predicament, Vîradhavala, as on the previous occasion, left the entire guardianship of the east and south in the charge of Vastupâla, and himself started with a contingent to fight with the Turuṣka general, Hammîra-vîra-Mîlacchikâra. Vastupâla engaged as his assistant Tejaḥpâla's son, Lâvaṇyasiṃha, who sent spies in the persons of two brothers, Nipuṇaka and Suvega to effect a split in the enemy's camp. Suvega managed to insinuate himself into the favaur of the Yâdava king, and Nipuṇaka succeeded in obtaining the post of horse-keeper to the Mâlava king, Devapâla. Nipuṇaka persuaded Siṅghaṇa that it would be advisable for him to cease all hostilities until Vîradhavala should have spent his strength in fighting against the Turuṣka. The Yâdava king considered this advice highly judicious, and went on carousing and merrymaking on the banks of the Tapti, instead of preparing for battle. The other spy, Suvega, had meanwhile obtained a horse with the name of 'Devapâla', to be presented to Saṃgrâmasiṃha, and forged a letter under the singnature of the Mâlava king, in which Saṃgrâmasiṃha was urged to revenge his father's death by destroying the Yâdava army in its entirety, when devapâla would fall upon them at the time of their entrance into Gujarat. In appearance this letter was merely a blank sheet of paper, but on exposure to the sun its contents were easily visible. Bearing it on his person, Suvega assumed the dress of a mendicant and allowed himself to be caught by the Yâdava army, who brought him at once before their king. Siṅghaṇa fell into the trap, and ordered Nipuṇaka to verify the truth of the story about the horse. The spy came out, and, meeting Saṃgrâmasiṃha, related to him everything about the interception of the letter and the consequent

displeasure of the king. He then returned to Siṅghaṇa and assured him that the horse really bore the name of the king of Mâlava. In the meantime, Saṃgrâmasiṃha fled away in fear. Siṇghaṇa at once marched against Mâlava, where he was opposed by its powerful forces. Nipuṇaka and Suvega, having thus thoroughly succeeded in their task, hurried to Gujarat, and reported everything to Vastupâla, who was greatly delighted at the news. But not long afterwards, he heard that Saṃgrâmasiṃha was advancing with his forces to attack Cambay, and had already crossed the Mahi river. An army was at once dispatched for the defence of the port.

Here the author abruptly leaves the discourse to narrate the circumstances of the struggle that was proceeding on the northern frontier. The Moslems were ultimately repulsed, and Vîradhavala went home victorious. Presumably, a treaty was then concluded with Saṃgrâmasiṃha, for Vîradhavala expressed his joy on the battlefield of Marwar, at the fact that the son of Sindhurâja had become his friend.

The author of the Hammîra-mada-mardana has based his story mainly on historical facts, though it is romantic in character. The actual existence of most of the persons he describes has been proved by outside evidence. The Prabandhacaturviṃśati tells us that Vîradhavala, with the help of Dhârâvarṣa, defeated Suratrâṇa Maujadin, i. e. Mui'z-ud-dîn Bahrâm Shâh Iyal-Timish. A fragmentary inscription from Dabhoi records that Vîradhavala routed a combined attack of the lord of Dhârâ and the king of the Deccan. Siṅghaṇa subsequently entered into a treaty of alliance with the Caulukyas.[1]

1 Report on the Search for the Sanskrit MSS. 1882-83, pp. 39ff, by R. G. Bhandarkar.

INVASION OF MALWA BY THE MOSLEMS.

While Devapâla was thus engaged in the destruction of the Gujarat empire, the Moslems raised their war-cry on the north-eastern frontier of the Paramâra kingdom. It has been seen that, in 1192-1193 A. D., the Muhammadans conquered the greater portion of Northern India, together with Ajmer. Since that time, they had been ruling the conquered provinces from their capital at Delhi. Qutb-ud-dîn, the first Muhammadan ruler of Delhi, was succeeded by Ârâm Shâh who again was followed by Iyal-Timish. In 1226 A. D., Iyal-Timish pushed his arms further south and conquered the fort of Mando (Mandasor), which was on the northern border of the Paramâra kingdom. On that occasion he seems to have been defeated by Vîradhavala, while trying to ravage Gujarat. About the same time, Devapâla made a combined attack on Gujarat with the Yâdavas. Racial jealousies blinded him to the danger that was awaiting him, and for this want of foresight he had to pay the penalty. Malwa fell a prey to the incursions of the Moslems. In 1233-4, Iyal-Timish reduced Gwalior to subjection, and turned his arms against Malwa. Devapâla was not prepared for this onslaught and the Sultân easily captured the fort of Bhilsa and made a triumphant march into the city of Ujjain. Firishta tells us[1] that, on this occasion, the Moslem chief "destroyed a magnificent temple, dedicated to Mahâkâl, formed upon the same plan as that of Somnat. This temple is said to have occupied three hundred years in building, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred

1 Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, p. 328; Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, p. 211. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 55.

Ṭabaqât-i-Nâṣirî, Vol. I, p. 622-Raverty.

cubits in height. The image of Bikramajit, who had formerly been prince of this country, and so renowned, that the Hindoos have taken an era from his death, also the image of Mahâkâl, both of stone, with many other figures of brass, were found in the temple. These images the king caused to be conveyed to Delhi, and broken at the door of the great mosque."

The Paramâra government thus received another rude shock, which no doubt, accelerated its decline and downfall.

The storm of the Moslem invasion passed away as quickly as it came, leaving desolation in its wake. The upheaval was tremendous, but Devapâla succeeded in restoring peace and order. Vîradhavala of Dholka seems to have availed himself of the embarrassments of the Paramâra government to wrest Broach from its feudatory, Śaṅkha. The colophon of a palmleaf manuscript relates that Lâvaṇyasiṃha, the son of Vîradhavala's minister Tejaḥpâla, was the governor of Broach in Saṃ. 1296 = 1239 A. D.

During the reign of Devapâla, in Saṃ. 12885 = 1228 A. D., Âśâdhara wrote his book Jina-Yajña-kalpa, and in Saṃ. 1292 = 1235 A. D. composed his Triṣaṣti-smṛti. He ascended the throne somewhere between 1215 and 1218 A. D., and ended his reign before 1243 A. D., which is the earliest known date of his son and successor Jaitugideva.

JAITUGIDEVA.

This monarch assumed the name of Bâla-Nârâyaṇa[1]. No inscription of his reign has been discovered.

From this period the history of the Paramâra dynasty is one long series of tales of rapid deterioration

1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 121, v. 22.

and collapse. Invasion after invasion from various quarters had shattered its nervous system until it finally broke down.

WAR WITH THE YÂDAVAS.

We have seen that Siṅghaṇa, probably being duped by the Caulukyas, attacked Devapâla's army. This again embittered the relations between the Yâdavas and the Paramâras. Siṅghaṇa was succeeded by his grandson, Kṛṣṇa, early in 1247 A. D. [1] Kṛṣṇa carried on the military policy of his predecessors with fresh vigour against the Paramâras, and advanced with an army upon Malwa, which was then apparently ruled by Jaitugideva His success over the Malwa army was as glorious as any achieved by his predecessors, although he did not acquire any territory. An inscription [2] of his reign, dated Śaka 1174=1252 A. D., states that "he was a 'trinetra' to Madana in the form of the king of Mâlava," which means that he destroyed the power of the Mâlava king as the God Śiva reduced Madana, the God of Love, to ashes by the fiery glance of his third eye, when the latter tried to excite his passion for the Goddess Pârvatî. Another inscription [3] of the same monarch, issued two years earlier, in Śaka 1172=1250 A. D., records also the subjugation of the king of Malwa by his valorous armies.

This was not the only catastrophe which the Paramâras had to face during this period. Iyal-Timish's expedition against Malwa, of only a few years back, had sounded for them a deep note of warning. Since then, many more countries in Northern India had been subjugated by the Moslems. But Jaitugideva, like his

1 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XII, p. 4, No. 5.
2 Ibid., p. 34.
3 E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 23.

father Devapâla, ignored all those episodes, and made no provision for the defence of his realm against the coming danger. He was not, of course, wholly responsible for this default, as he had to array all his forces against the Yâdavas for the defence of his southern frontier. The depredations made by the king Kṛṣṇa, no doubt pressed heavily upon his military resources. This quickly attracted the attention of the Moslem ruler of Delhi, who was evidently on the look-out for such an opportunity. Iyal-Timish was succeeded by Raziyyah and Nâṣir-ud-dîn. In 1250 A D., Nâṣir-ud-dîn sent his general, Balban, to subjugate the southern Hindu kingdom. He first fell upon Narwar and defeated its ruler, and then directed his march towards Malwa. The Paramâra territory probably again fell a prey to the inroads of the Moslems. The Tabaqât-i-Nâṣirî [1] tells us that "the sublime standard (of Balban) moved towards Gwâliyûr, Chandîrî, Nurwul (Nurwur) and Mâlwah, and on this expedition, they reached near unto Mâlwah." Firishta records [2] that Nâṣir-ud-dîn marched to Chundery and Malwa and subdued them. He, after having appointed an officer to govern them, returned to Delhi. It is extremely doubtful whether the Moslems were, on that occasion, able to establish a permanent authority over any part of Malwa, but it is quite certain that this raid played a large part in lessening still further the declining strength of the Paramâras.

WAR WITH THE VÂGHELÂS OF DHOLKA.

About this time, a fresh trouble from the west embarrassed the Mâlava government. Vîsaladeva, son

1 Raverty, Vol. I, p. 690-91.

2 Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, p. 239. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 68.

of Vîradhavala, ascended the throne of Gujarat in 1243 A. D. He heartily welcomed the situation created in Malwa by the successive foreign invasions. He probably recalled those dark days when Devapâla, taking advantage of his father's absence, made an alliance with the Yâdavas and invaded Gujarat. Now the time had come for him to be able to pay off these old scores against the Paramâras. A large Gujarat army, headed by Vîsaladeva, marched to the borders of Malwa. The Paramâra government, with its petty resources, could not stem the tide of their progress, and Vîsala made a triumphant march through the country and sacked its capital, Dhârâ. The Dabhoi inscription[1] of his reign, dated 1253 A. D., states that he won renown by defeating the king of Mâlava and the ruler of the Deccan. Another inscription[2] of his reign, dated 1260 A. D., records that "he was volcanic fire to dry up the ocean of the army of Siṃhaṇa, a destroyer of the pride of the king of Mâlava and an uprooter of the government of Medapâṭa." A third record,[3] issued by the poet Nânâka, and dated 1271 A. D., declares that "the heavens on high became terrifically dark by the rings of smoke rising from Mâlava set ablazing at the time of his (Vîsala's) attack." It further tells us that Gaṇapati Vyâsa earned high reputation by composing an essay on Vîsalâdeva's destruction of Dhârâ,[4] An undated inscription[5] of the same court poet tells us that the king "adorned the land his beloved, with his glory, as with strings of pearls, abandoned by, and gained in battle from the king of Mâlava."

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 28, v. 58. 2 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 212.

3 Ibid. Vol. XI, p. 107, v. 4.

4 Śrî-Vîsala-kṣmâpater Dhârâ-dhvaṃśa-mahâ prabandha. (I. A., Vol. XI, p. 107, v. 18)

5 Ibid., p. 104, v. 6.

All this evidence proves beyond doubt Vîsala's sweeping success in that enterprise. His invasion was of a plundering nature, and hence no territorial acquisition was made. After this, the Paramâra government was left in a most shattered condition. Having suffered so many disasters, it now cast only a flickering ray of its power, and began to deteriorate until it finally collapsed.

Jaitugi was amiable and loving to his subjects, and beloved for his good qualities.[1] In Saṃ. 1300=1243 A. D., when he was ruling his kingdom, Âśâdhara wrote a commentary on Dharmâmṛta, called Bhavyakumuda-candra, in a Jaina temple in Nalakacchapura. He ended his reign some time before 1256 A. D., and was followed by his younger brother, Jayavarman II.

JAYAVARMAN II.

Three inscriptions of Jayavarman II's reign have been discovered. The earliest[2] is found inside the fort of Rahatgarh, a town twenty-five miles west of Sagor, the headquarters of the district of the same name, in the Gwalior State. It purports to say that it was issued by the feudatory or the governor, Ukalevandana, of Uparahâḍâ maṇḍala (province) in Saṃ. 1312, Bhâdrapada 7 (28th August, 1256 A. D.), when the Mahârâjâdhirâja Jaya (varma) deva was ruling at Dhârâ. The province of Uparahâḍâ was certainly the territory in and around Rahatgarh, though to-day no place-name in that neighbourhood corresponds to it.

The second inscription,[3] on a stone broken into four pieces, now lying in the town-hall at Indore, was

1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 121.

2 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 84; A. S. I., Vol. X, p. 31.

3 Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, 1913, p. 56—unpublished.

found at Moḍi, about ten miles west of Bhanpura, in the Indore State. It was issued during the reign of Jayavarman, in Saṃ. 1314=1257 A. D., and refers to a district called Mauḍi, which is evidently identical with the place where the record was discovered.

(iii) The third inscription[1] was found in the village of Godurpura, on the south bank of the Narmada, in the Nimar District, Central Provinces. It contains two plates, and records that Jayavarman, from his fort of Maṇḍapa, granted the village Vaḍauḍa, in the Mahuaḍa pathaka, to three Brahmans, viz., Mâdhava, Janârdana, and Dhâmadevaśarman. In pursuance of the king's directions, in Saṃ. 1317=1260 A. D., his officer Gâṅgadeva, having bathed at Amareśvara Kṣetra, worshipped Amareśvaradeva, and distributed the above village to the donees, in various shares. The record was composed by Harṣadeva, son of the learned Gavîśa, with the concurrence of the Sândhivigrahika (Minister of Peace and War), the learned Mâlâdhara. It was corrected by the grammarian Âmadeva, and engraved by the architect Kânhaḍa. The 'Dûtaka' was the Mahâ-pradhâna—Râjâ Śrî-Ajayadeva.

Of the localities mentioned, Maṇḍapa is the modern town of Mandu, in Dhar State ; Mahuaḍa, which is here called a pathaka, is described in Devapâla's grant as a pratijâgaraṇaka,[2] the latter being probably a subdivision of the former. Professor Kielhorn suggests[3] that Vaḍauḍa is to be identified with the village Burud, three miles north-east of Satajana.[4]

1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 120.

2 Ibid., p. 109, line 17.

3 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 120.

4 Professor Kielhorn makes mention of an inscription, dated Saṃ. 1311=1255 A. D., found at Udayapur, in which he

The evidence of the above three records, shows that, even in that period of degeneration, the Malwa government held sway over a territory which extended at least as far as Bhanpura, in the Indore State, on the north, the Sagor District on the east, and the Nimar District on the south.

WAR WITH THE CÂHAMÂNAS OF RANTHAMBHOR.

During this time, the Paramâras found another strong enemy in the Câhamâna kings of Ranastambhapura, the modern Ranthambhor, in the Jaipur State, Rajputana. A short account has already been given of the defeat and death of Pṛthvîrâja, in 1192 A. D., by Shihâb-ud-dîn Muḥammad of Ghor. Since then, the Câhamâna rule in Delhi and Ajmer had become totally extinct. Govinda Râja, the grandson of Pṛthvîrâja, established a new government in Ranthambhor, and began to rule as an independent monarch. He was succeeded by Bâlhaṇadeva.[1] The Tabaqât-i-Nâṣirî tells us that,[2] in 1248 A. D., Ulugh Khan, a general of the Sultân Nâṣir-ud-dîn, advanced to conquer the mountain of Mewat and the country of Bâhar-Deo, who was the greatest of the Râjas of Hindustan. Again, in 1253 A. D., the Moslem general led an expedition towards Ranthambhor, Hindi, and Chitor. Bâhar-Deo, the Ray of Ranthambhor, collected an army to oppose him but ultimately fled away. I am inclined to identify Bâhar-Deo with Bâlhaṇadeva. If I am right in this,

reads, with but little doubt, the name Jayasiṃha (E. I., Vol. IX, p. 118) As the facsimile is not available, nothing can be inferred from this.

1 E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 48.

2 Elliot, Hist. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 367, 370; Raverty, Tabaqât-i-Nâṣirî, p. 828.

we get from the above Moslem record some idea about the period of Bâlhaṇa's reign. He had two sons, Prahlâda and Vâgbhaṭa, of whom the former succeeded to the throne, and the latter became the chief minister of the government. Prahlâda, however, did not long survive his father, and died of a wound received from a lion during a hunting excursion. His eldest son, Vîranârâyaṇa, followed him to the throne. The Hammîra-mahâkâvya tells us that he was haughty and impudent, and quarrelled with his uncle, Vâgbhaṭa. Vâgbhaṭa left Ranthambhor and went to Malwa, where he lived for some time. Vîranârâyaṇa was soon lured to Delhi by Jalâl-ud-dîn, who made false overtures of friendship to him. As soon as he reached the Moslem capital, he was assassinated, apparently by the Sultân's orders. Ranthambhor was then conquered by the Sultân, who sent instructions to the Malwa king to put Vâgbhaṭa to death.[1] The Malwa king agreed to carry out this order but Vâgbhaṭa, becoming aware of the plot against his life, at once slew him, and occupied the throne of Malwa. With the new resources thus obtained Vâgbhaṭa proceeded to Ranthambhor, and conquered it by the complete overthrow of the Moslems.[2] We have no evidence to verify this report. Vâgbhaṭa's son Jaitrasiṃha was a contemporary of Jayasiṃha II (1269 A. D.), who was apparently a successor of the Paramâra Jayavarman II.[3] Hence if the above report proves to be true, the Malwa king, who was killed and overthrown by him, was in all probability, Jayavarman II. This must have happened shortly after 1260 A. D.

1 I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 62.

2 Hammîra-Mahâkâvya, by Nayacandra, I. A., Vol. VIII, pp. 62 ff.

3 E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 47.

JAYASIṂHA II.

After the reign of Jayavarman II, we have no systematic chronology of the later Paramâra kings. We shall arrange them according to their known dates, though their relation with each other is not yet known. Jayavarman II seems to have been succeeded by Jayasiṃha II. An inscription [1] of his reign, dated Saṃ. 1326, Vaiśâkha 7 = 10th April, 1269 A. D., has been discovered. He seems to have been a powerful chief. Vâgbhaṭa's successor, Jaitrasiṃha, waged war against the Paramâras. He [2] defeated the brave Mâlava army at a place called Jhampâithâghaṭṭa and sent hundreds of them as prisoners to Ranthambhor. He is said to have shone forth like a sun, in the glare of which Jayasiṃha burnt in Maṇḍapa (Mandu). But in spite of all these achievements, Jaitrasiṃha had ultimately to withdraw from his enemy's country. The subsequent history of his successors shows that they had no control over Malwa.

ARJUNAVARMAN II.

Jayasiṃha's death was followed by terrible internal disturbances in his kingdom. The situation is well described by a contemporary Muhammadan historian

1 Kielhorn's Northern List, No. 232.

2 Tatobhyudayam âsâdya Jaitrasiṃha-ravir ṇṇavaḥ |
api Maṃḍapa-madhyasthaṃ Jayasiṃham atîtapat ‖ 7 |
Kûrmama-kṣitîśa-kamaṭhî-kaṭhinoru-kaṃṭha-pîthî--vilumṭa-(ṭh)ana-kaṭhora-kuṭhâra-dhâraḥ |
yaḥ Karkkarâlagiri-pâlaka-pâla-pâli-khelat-karâla-karavâla karo vireje ‖ 8 |
Yena Jhampâithâghaṭṭe (Mâ)laveśa-bhaṭâḥ śataṃ |
Va(ba)ddhâ Raṇastambhapure kṣiptâ nitâśca dâsatâṃ ‖ 9
(Hammîra's inscription, E. I., Vol. XIX, pp. 49-50.)

named Wassâf, who wrote his Tazjiyatul Amsâr in 1300 A. D.[1] He records[2] that—"It may be about thirty years previous to my laying the foundation of this book that the king of Malwa died, and dissension arose between his son and minister. After long hostilities and much slaughter, each of them acquired possession of a part of that country. In consequence of these disturbances, every year incursions are made into it from most parts of Hind, much property and wealth, and captives, and fine linen (Kirbâs) carried off, and as yet no change (for the better) has taken place."

The Malwa king, whose death this Muhammadan historian alludes to, was, in all probability, Jayasiṃha II, who was ruling in 1269 A. D. His son, who involved himself in a quarrel with his minister, seems to have been Arjunavarman II. We have ample evidence to prove that, during this period, Malwa was a prey to the attacks of many chiefs of the neighbouring kingdom.

RAID OF THE YÂDAVAS ON MALWA.

Yâdava Kṛṣṇa was followed on the throne by Mahâdeva (1260-1270 A. D.) and Râmacandra (1271-1309 A D.). Râmacandra carried on the traditional war with his northern neighbours, and made a successful raid on Malwa. The Thana plate[3] of his reign, dated Śaka 1194=1272 A. D., very appropriately describes him as "a blast of the day of doom in extinguishing the lamps of the Mâlavas." The Udari stone inscription[4] of

1 Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p. 24.

2 Ibid., p. 31.

3 Mâlava-pradîpa-śamana-pralayânilaḥ ; E. I., Vol. XIII, pp. 202-205. (For other evidences, Mysore Inscription, pp. 20 and 46 ; E. C., Vol. VII, ffl. No. 17 ; Vol. XI, Jl. 30, Dg, 59.)

4 Ann. Rep. Arch. S. Mysore, 1929, p. 143.

Râmacandra, dated Śaka 1198 = A. D. 1276, states that the "King was a lion in destroying the multitude of the rutting elephants of Arjuna, the King of Mâlava."

CÂHAMÂNA HAMMÎRA'S INVASION OF MALWA.

Next followed the incursions of the Câhamânas of Ranthambhor. Jaitrasiṃha was succeeded by his son Hammîra, in 1283 A. D.[1] Hammîra was well known for his chivalry and generalship. Shortly after his accession he led an expedition to Malwa, and greatly crippled its military strength. His inscription, dated 1288 A. D.,[2] honours him for his victory over Arjuna, the king of Malwa.

INVASION OF THE VÂGHELÂS.

While all the neighbouring chiefs were taking advantage of the weakness of the Paramâra government, the Vâghelâs of Dholka did not let slip their opportunity. About this time, Sâraṅgadeva (1275-1295 A. D.), the son of Arjuna and the grandson of Vîsala, was on the throne of Gujarat. He fell upon the Paramâras with a body of soldiers, and shattered their forces. The Cintra praśasti[3] of his reign, dated 1287 A. D., tells us that he reduced the power of the Yâdava and the Mâlava kings

1 I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 64.

2 Nirjjitya yenĀrjunamâji-mûrddhni Śrîr-Mâlavasyojjagṛhe haṭhena ‖ 11,
E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 50. The Hammîra-Mahâkâvya describes Arjuna as the Râja of Sarasapura.
(I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 64).

3 Yudhi Yâdava-Mâlaveśvaravâkṛta kṣîṇabalau balena yaḥ ।
Pṛthu-vigraha-dhâriṇau purâ patagemdro gaja-kacchapâv-iva ‖
(E. I. Vol. I, p. 281, v. 13).

in battle, as Garuḍa formerly overcame the huge-bodied elephant and the tortoise. He appears to have been assisted in this enterprise by his governor, Vîsala, who is described by the Mount Abu inscription,[1] dated 1293 A. D., as a ruler of eighteen provinces, his head-quarters being at Candrâvatî. The Pâṭanârâyaṇa inscription,[2] of the Paramâra Pratâpasiṃha, mentions him as the conqueror of the lord of Mâlava and the Turuṣkas. It seems to refer to the same campaign against Malwa as that led by Sâraṅgadeva.

BHOJA II.

HAMMÎRA'S SECOND INVASION OF MALWA.

Arjunavarman occupied the throne of Malwa until at least the year 1283 A. D., the date of the accession of Hammîra to the throne of Ranthambhor. He was succeeded by Bhoja II.[3] During his reign, the hostility with the Câhamânas of Ranthambhor reached its climax. Hammîra, shortly after his accession, set out on a career of military glory at the expense of the neighbouring Hindu princes, without paying any attention to the extensive preparations of the Moslems for the invasion of his own territory. He conquered Gaḍhamaṇḍala and marched upon Dhârâ, where he defeated the king Bhoja II, a descendant of the famous king of that name. Thence he proceeded to Ujjain, where, bathing in the waters of the Kṣiprâ, he paid his devotions to the shrine

1 Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, p.311.

2 Śrî-Mâlavâdhipa Ti (Tu) ruṣka-balaika-jaitra-Śrî-Bhâda-devasuta-Vîsala-ramya-râjye. (I. A., Vol. XLV, p. 79, v. 42.) Vîsala is described here as the son of Bhâdadeva. He was in all likelihood, the same as the governor of Sâraṅgadeva, who is mentioned in the Mount Abu inscription.

3 I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 64.

of Mahâkâla. Finally he returned to Ranthambhor, after vanquishing the rulers of Mewar, Mount Abu and Vardhamânapura.

This lack of statesmanship on the part of Hammîra in throwing himself headlong into a series of wars with the chiefs of his own nationality, at a time when the Muhammadans raised their war-cry on the northern boundary of his dominions, not only hastened the ruin of the Paramâras, but also brought speedy destruction upon his own government. In 1301 A. D., the Moslems, under Alâ-ud-dîn Khilji,[1] broke through the barrier of his armies, and rushed towards his capital. The Hammîra-mahâkâvya describes pathetically the manner in which the great hero met his end, when all the women of his harem, mounting on a funeral pyre, voluntarily burnt themselves to ashes. Hammîra sallied forth from his stronghold, and made a desperate attack on his enemies. All his valiant generals died one after the other fighting bravely. "Lastly fell the mighty Hammîra, pierced with a hundred shafts Disdaining to fall, with anything like life, into the enemy's hands, he with one last effort severed his head from his body with his own hands, and so terminated his existence. Thus fell Hammîra, the last of the Cohâns !"[2]

MAHLAK DEO.

Next came the turn of the Paramâra government. The life and spirit infused into it by the ever-memorable Muñja and Bhoja had long since been blighted. Only the shadow of its former glory and power remained. In the meantime, it suffered another terrible disaster at

1 Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p. 179.
2 I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 73.

the hand of Lakṣmasiṃha, the Guhila king of Mewar. An inscription[1] of Râṇâ Kumbhakarṇa, dated 1439 A. D., praises Lakṣmasiṃha for his victory over Gogâdeva, the king of Mâlava. A contemporary Muhammadan historian inscribes the name Gogâ as Kokâ, and describes him as a commander (pardhân) of the Malwa king, Mahlak Deo.[2] I think Mahlak Deo succeeded Bhoja II on the throne, and that Gogâ was a semi-independent chief.

FINAL CONQUEST OF MALWA BY THE MOSLEMS.

Shortly after the fall of Ranthambhor, in A. H. 705 = 1305 A. D., Sultân 'Alâ-ud-dîn Khiljî appeared, at the head of his picked troops, before the gates of Malwa. Mahlak Deo, together with his general Kokâ (Gogâ), collected all the forces he could muster, amounting in all to thirty or forty thousand cavalry and innumerable infantry, and confronted the Moslems in a last but by no means less formidable effort to stem the progress of the invaders. But Providence had decreed that the Hindus should no more hold the sovereignty of India. Hundreds of the Malwa army were slain on the battle-field, and Kokâ lost his life in the encounter. Mahlak Deo fled to the fort of Mandu, and Malwa was conquered and finally annexed to the Moslem empire, 'Ain-ul-Mulk being appointed to carry on its administration as governor. At the order of the Sultân, 'Ain-ul-Mulk advanced towards Mandu to bring that also under subjugation. A spy led him into the fort through a secret passage, whence he suddenly fell upon Mahlak Deo, and slew him, in spite of the fugitive's efforts to escape.[3]

1 Mâlaveśa-Gogâ-deva-jaitra-Śrî-Lakṣmasiṃha, A. S. I., 1907-8, p. 214, lines 12-13.

2 Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p. 76.

3 Ibid., cf. pp. 174-175.

JAYASIMHA III.

The Paramâra sovereignty was now extinct in Malwa, never to revive. But for some time longer the banners of its independence was kept unfurled in Bhilsa by Jayasimha III, who was probably the successor of Mahlak Deó. An inscription [1] inside the east entrance of the great temple of Udayapur, tells us that in Saṃ. 1366=1209 A. D. Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî-Jayasiṃha was ruling there. We know nothing further about him or of any of his successors. The province was shortly afterwards conquered and annexed to the Moslem empire.

Here we must close the long tale of a family of rulers, which emerged from comparative darkness into the political arena of Central India in a burst of splendour, and dominated a large tract of land for five hundred years with unbounded authority. It withered and died out in the fires of internecine warfare, but it left behind it a great civilisation and culture which will endure for all time. In the domain of politics its achievements were magnificent; to the altar of the Goddess of Learning its contributions were immeasurable; and in the field of architecture its activities were unparalleled. For long it served as a bulwark for the Deccan against the torrents of the Muhammadan invasions. The great Moslem conquerors, Maḥmud of Ghaznî, and Shihâb-ud-dîn Muhammad of Ghor, ravaged all the countries round Malwa, but, curiously enough, touched not a stone of the Paramâra empire. The riches of Ujjain and Dhârâ were no less glittering than those of Ajmer, Kanauj and Anhilwar; the idol of Mahâkâla was of no less repute than that of

1 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 84.

Somanâtha; yet these adventurers did not attempt any invasion of Malwa. They must have been attracted by its wealth, but the armaments of the Paramâras probably dashed to the ground all their hopes of successful plunder.

It was from one of its western neighbours that the structure of the Paramâra government received the severe blow which shook it to its foundations. It was subsequently restored, but not in its former perfection; it had lost all its pristine glory and magnificence. It did not enjoy enough respite for the complete recuperation of its strength; rather the wound first inflicted, was widened by the successive attacks of the numerous Hindu chiefs, who were its enemies, until at last the Moslems descended upon its weakened power, and finished the work of destruction. With its fall the barrier of the Deccan was broken; there was none to stem the tide of the Moslem armies, before which were swept away all the Hindu sovereignties of the south.

CHAPTER VIII.

ART AND CULTURE.

In this chapter I shall endeavour to narrate the history of social, administrative, religious, architectural, and literary conditions and events in Malwa under the Paramâra dynasty.

SOCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE.

From the time of the eighth century A. D., the Eastern and Western parts of Mâlava were merged in one kingdom and were known under the generic name of Mâlava. The territory, over which the main branch of the Paramâras held sway, was generally known as the Mâlava-deśa.[1] The whole kingdom was divided into a number of maṇḍalas (provinces), each of which was again divided into Bhogas. The 'Viṣaya'[2] is also a unit of the maṇḍala, but its relation with the 'Bhoga' cannot be definitely ascertained. Each 'Bhoga' seems to have been subdivided into 'Pathakas', and each

1 Vide ante, B. 27, Chapt. 11.

2 That 'Viṣaya' was a unit of the maṇḍala is clearly borne out by the Barah copper-plate of the Pratihâra Bhoja, dated 836 A. D. (E. I., XIX, p. 15). It records the grant of a village, which lay in the Udumbara-viṣaya of the ;Kâlañjara -maṇḍala, in the Kânyakubja-bhukti. But sometimes it represented a greater unit than a maṇḍala. In the Somanâtha-pattana inscription, of the reign of the Caulukya Kumârapâla, dated 1169 A. D., Vâṇâraśî (Vârâṇasî, modern Benares) is mentioned as a place in the Kânyakubja-viṣaya.

(Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. III, p. 7, v. 5.)

'Pathaka' into 'Pratijâgaraṇakas' (modern 'parganâ'). Each 'Pratijâgaraṇaka' was split up into groups, each of which was composed of a certain number of villages. The village was the lowest unit of the territorial divisions. Besides these, there was a large number of cities and towns, which probably served as provincial headquarters. Our knowledge of the names of all the units of the kingdom is by no means exhaustible, being limited in fact to the following, collected from the available records.

MAṆḌALAS.

1. Avanti.
2. Mahâdvâdaśaka
3. Nîlagiri.
4. Pûrṇapathaka.
5. Saṃgamakheṭa.
6. Sthalî.
7. Vindhya.
8. Vyâpura.
9. Upendrapura.
10. Selluka.[1]
11. Uparahâḍâ.

BHOGAS.

1. Gardabhapânîya.
2. Ghâghradora (in the Sthalî maṇḍala).
3. Râjaśayana („ „ Mahâdvâdaśaka maṇḍala).

VIṢAYAS.

1. Audrahâḍi in Selluka (containing 1500 villages).
2. Mohaḍavâsaka.

PATHAKA.

1. Iṅgaṇapaṭa.
2. Bhṛṃgârî-catuḥṣaṣṭi.
3. Mahuaḍa.
4. Nâgadraha.

[1] It is mentioned as a territory containing 1500 villages. (E. I., Vol. XIX. p. 74.)

PRATIJÂGARAṆAKA.

1. Amaḍâpadra (in the Nîlagiri maṇḍala)
2. Mahuaḍa („ „ Mahuaḍa pathaka)
3. Mandâraka
4. Narmadâpura
5. Pagâra
5. Śakapura.

GROUPS OF VILLAGES.

1.	Bhâillasvâmi mahâdvâdaśaka	(12)
2.	Maktulagrâma-dvicatvâriṃśa	(42)
3.	Muktâpalî-Caturâśîti (in the Âudrahâḍi viṣaya)	(84)
4.	Bhṛṃgârî-catuḥṣaṣṭi	(64)
5.	Voḍasirâ-aṣṭacatvâriṃśa (in the Narmadâpura pratijâgaraṇaka)	(48)
6.	Tiṇisapadra-dvâdaśaka	(12)
7.	Nayâpadra-saptadaśaka	(17)
8.	Vaṭakheṭaka	(36)
9.	Sâvarisole	(16)

VILLAGES.

1. Agâsiyaka
2. Ajâṛavâhalâ (in the Gardabhapânîya bhoga)
3. Cikhillikâ („ „ „ „)
4. Piśâcadevatîrtha „ „ „ „)
5. Pipparikâ Toḍâra „ „ „ „)
6. Sembalapuraka „ „ Tiṇisapadra dvâdaśaka)
7. Guṇapura „ „ „ „)
8. Bhagavatpura „ „ „ „)
9. Kumbhâpâṭaka „ „ Mohaḍavâsa-viṣaya
10. Sîhakâ „ „ „
11. Vaṭapadraka „ Ghâghradora-bhoga
12. Nalataḍâga „ Nayâpadra-saptadaśaka

13.	Vîrâṇâka	,,	Nâgadraha-pathaka		
14.	Mâyamoḍaka	,,	Vaṭakheṭaka thirty-six		
15,	Ghaṇṭâpallî	In	Saṃgamakheṭa-maṇḍala		
16.	Viluhaja	,,	,,		,,
27.	Vaḍauḍa in Surâsaṇî		Both situated in the Râjaśayana-bhoga.		
18.	Uthavaṇaka in the Suvarṇa-prâsâdika				
19.	Saṃgavaṭṭâ	In	Bhṛṃgârî-Catuḥṣaṣṭi		
20.	Umaratha	,,	,,		,,
21.	Nâha	,,	,.		,,
22.	Vahiḍâu(mṭhâ)	,,	.,		,,
23.	Deulî	,,	,,		,,
24.	Lakhaṇauḍâ	,,	,,		,,
25.	Palasavâḍâ	,,	Amaḍâpadra-pratijâgaraṇaka		
26.	Mamati	,,	,,		,,
27.	Guṇaura	,,	Voḍasirâ forty-eight		
28.	Guvâḍâghaṭṭa	,,	,,		,,
29.	Piḍiviḍi	,,	Sakapura-pratijâgaraṇaka		
30.	Hathinâvara	,,	Pagâra		,,
31.	Satâjuṇâ	,,	Mahuḍa		,,
32.	Kadambapadraka	,,	Mandâraka		,,
33.	Vaḍauḍa	,,	Mahuaḍa-pathaka		
34.	Muktâpalî	,,	Audrahâḍi-viṣaya		
35.	Mahiṣabuddhikâ	,,	,,		,,
36.	Mahuḍalâ	,,	,,		,,
37.	Hathâvâḍa	,,	,,		,,
38.	Kâkaḍa	,,	,,		,,
39.	Undapura				
40.	Bhîmagrâma				
41.	Mokhalapâṭaka				
42.	Laghuvaiṃganapadra				
43.	Ṭhikkarikâ				
44.	Devalapâṭaka.				

A contemporary Muhammadan historian recounts the total number of villages which lay in the jurisdiction of

Malwa. Wassâf completed his book Tazjiyatu-l Amsâr in 1300 A. D. He claims to have collected the material for his work from the accounts of many travellers, who devoted their lives to making enquiries and research in Hindustan. He tells us that the country of Malwa, which was under the sovereignty of a Hindu dynasty, consisted of 1,893,000 towns and villages.[1]

Our information regarding the names of the towns and cities that rose to importance during the period under review is very small. The following few places are worth mentioning :—

1. Ujjain
2. Dhârâ
3. Maṇḍapa
4. Maheśvara
5. Udayapura
6. Bhojapura
7. Vardhamânapura
8. Harṣapura
9. Narmadâpura(Namâvur[2])
10. Candrapurî
11. Râjabrahmapurî
12. Brahmapurî
13. Devapâlapura
14. Nalakacchapura
15. Bhilsa (Bhailsan[3])
16. Ghargûn (Gâgrûn ?)
17. Bîjagar (Bijayagaḍh)
18. Hindiya[4]
19. Saṅgâma[5]
20. Gogasthâna

The population of the country mainly consisted of the Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Kâyasthas, Vaiśyas, Śûdras, and Tailakas.[6] The Brahmana, as usual, occupied the highest position in the community. The kings offered

1 Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p. 31.

2 Sachau's Albêrûnî, Vol. I, p. 203.

3 Ibid., p. 202.

4 Briggs, Firishta, Introduction, LXXVI ; Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 559.

5 E. I. Vol. XIX, p. 69.

6 Proceedings & Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, p. 324 ; E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 310.

special privileges to them, and granted lands for their maintenance. During this period a large number of Brahman families migrated from the following places, and settled themselves in Malwa :—

Ânandapura	Âśramasthâna
Ahicchatra[1]	Mahâvanasthâna
Chiñchâsthâna[2]	Tripurîsthâna
Sthâneśvara	Akolâsthâna
Visâlagrâma	Mathurâsthâna
Bâdâvi, in Belluvalla of Karṇâṭa[3]	Ḍiṇḍvânakasthâna
Adriyalavidâvarî[4]	Madhyadeśa
Muktâvasasthâna[5]	Sarasvatîsthâna
Ṭakâristhâna	Hastinâpura[7]
Śṛṅgapura, in Madhyadeśa[6]	Mutâvathû

The Brahmans were divided into various Gotras and Śâkhâs. The following are some of them :—

GOTRAS[8]

Capalîya	Bharadvâja	Gautama	Harita-kutsa
Gopâli	Kâtyâyana	Vatsa	Mârkaṇḍeya
Vasiṣṭha	Kâśyapa	Mudgala	Kautsa
Kauśika	Parâvasu	Śâṇdilya	Parâśara
Agastya	Bhârgava	Dhaumya	Audalya

1 Proceedings & Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, p. 303 ; I. A., Vol. VI, p. 52.

2 E. I., Vol. XI, p. 812.

3 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 55. cf Vol. XXXI, p. 365.

4 Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 350-51.

5 J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 379.

6 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1921, p. 54.

7 E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 115-116.

8 Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 155-16 ; J. A., S. B., Vol, XI, p. 221.

ŚÂKHÂS [1]

VÂjimÂdhyaṃdina	ŚÂṅkhÂyana
ÂśvalÂyana	RÂṇÂyani
MÂdhyaṃdina	Kaṭha
Kauthuma	VÂjasaneya

Sometimes they bore titles of distinction, indicating their rank and the extent of their education, such as the following [2] :—

Srotriya	Paṇḍita	Caturveda
Śukla	Agnihotrin	Dviveda
Dîkṣita	RÂjan	Yajñika
Triveda	UpÂdhyÂya	
PÂṭhaka	Ṭhakkura	
Âvasathika	MahÂrÂja-paṇḍita	

It was through the contributions of these learned and highly talented Brahmans that Malwa rose to the position of an ideal Hindu State. The Mount Abu inscription [3] of the reign of the Caulukya Bhîma II, dated 1208 A. D., presents a picture of the country in the following words :—

"Glory to Avanti, the home of rich men, which protects the world by the heroism of its lords, cleanses it by the pure and brilliant life of its Brahmans, who follow the way prescribed by the revealed texts, and which gladdens it through the fragrance arising from the dalliance of its passionate youths."

The ParamÂra kings were Kṣatriyas. They established social relations with the various ruling dynasties of India by intermarriage. UdayÂditya's daughter

1 E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 115-116.
2 Ibid.
3 I. A., Vol. XI, p. 222.

was married to Guhila king. Jagaddeva gave his daughter in marriage to a Varman king of East Bengal Arjunavarman's first queen was a daughter of a Kuntala king, and his second was a Caulukya princess. The Gaṅga king, Narasiṃha I (1253-1286 A. D.), married Sîtâdevî, the daughter of a Mâlava king[1] A Gujarat prince married a princess of the Paramâra dynasty.[2]

The country was very wealthy. Besides the dwelling quarters in every village, there were fields for growing crops, pasture-lands for cattle, and woods which produced fuel. There were markets in the villages and cities, which contained the houses of traders. In each of them there were traders' associations.[3] The chief articles for sale were[4] candied sugar, jaggery, Bengal madder, thread, cotton, cocoanuts, butter, sesam oil, salt, areca-nuts, clothing fabrics, jâla (bunch of buds), lagaḍâ (bars of gold), silver or other metal, oil, cattle fodder, sugar, grain, barley, etc.

The land measurements were "nivartanas" and "phalakas".[5] There were different standards of measures for the different articles in the market, as for instance—[6]

Bharaka—for cocoanuts, candied sugar, Jaggery, Bengal madder, thread, cotton and grains.

Ghaṭaka (pot) for butter and sesam oil.

and *palikâ*[7] „ „ „ „ „

1 E. I., Vol. V, Appendix p. 53, No. 362.

2 Gadyakaraṇamṛta of Sakalavidyâcakravarti. An. Rep. My. Arch. Dep., 1929.

3 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 310, v. 75.

4 Ibid., pp. 309-6.

5 Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 74.

6 Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 309-10.

7 'Palikâ' is apparently an abbreviation of 'Pala'. (E. I., Vol, XI, p. 41).

Mūṭaka and *Mánaka*[1]	—for salt.
Pūlakas[2]	—for jâla.
Karṣa and *Páṇaka*	—for oil.
Santas	—for lagaḍâ.
Mani	—for seeds of grain.
Vumvaka	—for the distiller's productions.

Mūṭaka, *Háraka*, and *Vápa*[3]—for barley.

The currency consisted of coins of various denominations in gold and silver. Some gold coins, apparently of the reign of Udayâditya, have been discovered in the Central Provinces. They are similar in type to those of the Kalacuri Gâṅgeyadeva. The legend on the obverse is[4]—

1. Śrîmad-U-
2. -daya-de-
3. -va.

Mr. R. D. Banerji suggests[5] that the king referred to must have been of the Paramâra dynasty. The other denominations of coinage, as mentioned in the contemporary records, are[6]—

1. Rûpaka
2. Ardharûpaka
3. Dramma
4. Viṃśopika[7].

1 Mânaka might have been the same as Mâṇâ. Its equivalents are :—

4 pâila = 1 pâyalî	4 mâṇâ = 1 Sei
5 pâyalî = 1 mâṇâ	2 Sei = 1 maṇ (E. I., Vol. XI, p. 41).

2 *i. e.* bundles.

3 *i. e.* handfuls.

4 J. A. S. B., 1920, Plate XIII, No. 2.

5 Ibid.

6 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 310 ; Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 226. J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 738, v. 6 ; Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 38.

7 One-twentieth of a rûpaka. (E. I., Vol. XI, p. 41.)

The King was the supreme head of the government. Over the administrative department was a body of ministers, at the head of which was the Prime Minister, who controlled all the officials and was himself subordinate to the king. His duty was to advise the sovereign upon matters of state, although, of course his advice had no binding effect upon the king and could be disregarded by him. This was the case when Rudrâditya, the minister of Muñja, was opposed to the policy of launching campaigns against the Câḷukyas, and the king disregarded his counsels.[1]

The minister in charge of the affairs of peace and war was known as 'Mahâsândhivigrahika'.[2]

The provincial government was in the hands of viceroys, known as 'Maṇḍalikas' and 'Mahâmaṇḍalikas'.[3] The officer in charge of a 'viṣaya' was called a 'Sâmanta',[4] and the king's representative in the village was the "Paṭṭalika' (Patel).

The other governmental officials were :—

Mahâsâdhanika[5]	Caurika	Daṇḍapâśika
Mahâsâdhana	Grâmaṭaka	Prâtirâjyaka[6]
Deśilaka	Gokulika	Mahattama

Mahâsâdhyapâla.[7]

Daṇḍâdhîśa[8] was the title of the General of the

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 33.

2 J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 31.

3 Progess Report of the Archaeological Survey, Westarn Circle, 1921, p. 54.

4 E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 74.

5 I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 161 ; ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 348.

6 E. I., Vol. XIX. p. 74.

7 Wilson, "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus", Introduction, pp. xx,xxi.

8 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 75, v. 17.

army. The government maintained a huge force consisting of—

Infantry.
Cavalry.
Elephants

An inscription[1] of Arjunavarman's reign tells us that the king possessed three classes of combatants—which obviously points to the above three divisions. Even at the time when the Paramâra government was on the point of extinction, its armed forces amounted to thirty or forty thousand cavalry and innumerable infantry.[2] The Paramâras were specially noted for their elephant forces. Muñja is said to have lost one thousand four hundred and seventy-six elephants in his fight with the Câlukyas of the Deccan.[3] Sindhurâja invaded Gujarat with his elephant force.[4] After the conquest of Tripurî, Lakṣmadeva encamped on the bank of the Narmada, where his elephants alleviated the fatigue of battle by bathing in the river.[5] Arjunavarman, mounting on an elephant, fought with the Caulukya Jayasiṃha.[6] A Hoysaḷa inscription designates the Mâlava king as the master of elephants.[7] Bows and arrows, and swords were the principal weapons in use. Bhoja is known to have practised archery.[8] "Jharjharas" and Dâmaras" were used as war-drums.[9] The

1 J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 26.
2 Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p 76.
3 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 34.
4 E. I., Vol. I, p. 302.
5 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 192. v. 30.
6 Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 100.
7 E. C., Vol. VI, Kd. No. 156.
8 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 71.
9 E. I., Vol. II, p. 192, v. 30.

soldiers were quartered in forts scattered all over the country. There were forts at Ujjain, Dhârâ, Rahatgarh, Bhilsa, Mandu, and Guṇapura.[1]

The total income of the government was probably eighteen hundred thousand gold coins.[2] The royal dues were levied either in money or in kind. The revenue mainly consisted of :

1. A share of the produce of the fields ;
2. House-tax ;
3. Rent in cash ;[3]
4. Tolls and other dues from the market ;[4]
5. Ferry-tolls ;[5]
6. Imposts on salt.[6]

RELIGION :

Brahmanism: The Paramâra kings were devout worshippers of Śiva. The sovereigns who supported this worship by donations include Sîyaka-Harṣa, Vâkpati, Bhoja, Jayasiṃha, Arjunavarman, Devapâla, and Jayavarman II.[7] Udayâditya built a temple to Śiva at Udayapur. The god was known under various names, such as Śambhu, Śrîkaṇṭha, Bhavânîpati,

1 J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 738 ; ibid., Vol. V, p. 379 ; E. I., Vol. IX, p. 121 ; I. A., Vol. XX, p. 83 ; Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, p. 211.

2 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 89 ; Mr. Tawney thinks that the number expressed here refers to the villages ; ibid., fn. 5.

3 J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 382 ; J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, pp. 31, 34.

4 J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 740.

5 J. Am. O. S., VII, p. 31.

6 Ibid.

7 Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, p. 303 ; I. A., Vol. VI, p. 52 ; E. Vol. I., XI, p. 182 ; J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 381 ; E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 109, 119.

Amareśvara, Oṃkâra, Mahâkâla, Kâlakâleśvara, Siddhanâtha, Nîlakaṇṭheśvara, Maneśvara, Udaleśvara, Vaidyanâtha, and Gohaḍeśvara.[1] Carcikâ was the favourite goddess of Naravarman,[2] and Devapâla[3] has great reverence for Limbâryâ. Viśveśvara Śambhu was a resident of the village of Pûrvagrâma, in Rāḍha. He migrated to Ḍâhala maṇḍala, and established a large number of Śaiva monasteries in the central and southern India in the 13th c. A. D. Mâlava Kings are said to have been his disciples. (S. EP. 1917, p 123).

The contemporary records tell us that the following gods and goddesses were also held in great veneration by the people :[4]

Durgâ	Râdhâ	Gaṇeśa
Lakṣmî	Vâgdevî Bhâratî	Loligasvâmî
Bhaṭṭeśvarî	Hanumat	Kṣetrapâla
Vidyâdharî	Ambikâ	Nakulîśa

The Four-Faced Mârkaṇḍeya.

The images of all these deities were bathed and anointed with perfumes and incense. The usual ceremonial for worship consisted in sacrificing holy wood, Kuśa grass, sesamum-seed, and rice in the sacred fire. Food and flowers were also offered. The worshipper robed himself in white garments, and said prayers

1 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 52 ; E. I., Vol. XI, p. 182 ; E. I., Vol. IV, p. 49 ; J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 30 ; I. A., Vol. XI, p. 222 ; I. A., VI, p. 56 ; E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 71. J. A. S. B. Vol. XVIII, p. 347.

2 Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, 1914, p. 59.

3 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 310.

4 I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 161 ; Rûpam, Jan. 1924, p. I ; E. I., Vol. II, p. 189 ; I. A., Vol. XX, p. 310 ; J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 243 ; ibid., Vol. VII. p. 740.

to the deity.[1] Sometimes he walked thrice round the sacred cow with other purificatory ceremonial.

During this period, Malwa was one of the chief centres of the Brahmanical religion. The caste-system was at the basis of the Hindu social structure. The Paramâra Kings lent their powerful support to the maintenance of its integrity. Udayâditya and Naravarman declared that their swords were ever ready to protect 'varṇa' (caste).[2] There were numerous Hindu monasteries which fostered the study of the religious scriptures. At the head of each monastery was a superintendent, highly distinguished for learning. In Ujjain there was a Śaiva monastery of established repute, called Nûtana; the Caṇḍikâśrama was a similar one in the same locality, where the following personages successively assumed the office of Superior.[3]

Tâpasa	Yogeśvararâśi	Durvâsarâśi
Vâkalavâsi	Maunirâśi	Kedârarâśi
Jyeṣṭajarâśi	Yogeśvarî	

The first mentioned, Tâpasa, belonged to the Capalîya race,[4] and attained this high position by his sincere devotion to the God Caṇḍîśa, whilst the last Kedârarâśi, built a temple to Śiva on Mount Abu, in Saṃ. 1265 = 1208 A. D.[5]

A great personage, named Bhâva Bṛhaspati, was born in the famous city of Vânârasî (Benares), situated in the viṣaya of Kânyakubja. He migrated to Malwa and resided in Dhârâ, which was the abode of many

1 J. A. S. B., VII, p. 731; I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 255.
2 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 351.
3 I. A., Vol. XI, pp. 221—22.
4 Ibid.
5 I. A., Vol. XI. p. 222.

saintly people belonging to various religions. There he attained the office of Superintendent of Śaiva temples, and wrote a treatise on the doctrine of the cult of Śiva. The Paramâra kings were attracted by his qualities, and became his disciples.[1] Later on, he changed his residence and went to Gujarat, where he became the Superior of the Śaiva monasteries. The Caulukya Kumârapâla granted him a village in 1169 A. D.[2]

The people observed many religious ceremonies with great devotion. The most important of these seems to have been the 'Vasantotsava' or the Spring Festival. This was celebrated amidst various amusements, dramas occasionally being acted.[3] The other ceremonial events of significance were :
Diwâli[4], Sendhavadeva[5], Candragrahaṇa (lunar eclipse), Pavitraka[6], Mahâvaiśâkha, Sûryagrahaṇa (solar eclipse).

Jainism. Side by side with the Brahmanical religion Jainism also flourished in Malwa, though not with equal vigour. In the early part of the eleventh century A. D., the great Jaina Śvetâmbara teacher, Ammadeva, flourished in Khandesh, in the southern division of the Paramâra kingdom.[7] He preached the doctrines of Jainism, and converted many people to his faith. Numerous Jaina temples were erected in that province, in one of which was installed the image of Munisuvrata. A number of Jaina fanes, which were built in the middle of the eleventh century A. D., have been discovered at

1 Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. III. p. 13.
2 Ibid.
3 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 101.
4 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 46.
5 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 53.
6 J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 242.
7 E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 71.

Un, in the Nimar District.[1] This proves that during that period Jainism was not limited to Khandesh, but had extended further east, in the Central Provinces, within the boundaries of the Paramâra dominion

Jainism also made considerable progress on the north of the Vindhya mountain. Its teachers always tried to assert their influence over the Paramâra kings. The Jaina teachers, Amitagati, and Dhaneśvara lived in Malwa during the reign of Muñja. Dhaneśvara was the successor of Abhayadeva, in the Sûripada. He is said to have flourished when Muñja was ruling.[2]

Muniratnasûri's Amamasvâmi-caritra[3] says that the Sûris, Mânatuṅga, and Devabhadra, were two swans, whose lake Mânasa was in the minds (mânasa) of Śrî-Śâtavâhana, and Bhoja. The Jaina teacher Caturmukha also known as Vṛṣabha-nandacârya had a disciple named Prabhācandra. Prabhâcandra was a great favourite of Bhoja.[4] Through the influence of the poet Dhanapâla, Bhoja is said to have become favourably inclined towards the tenets of the Jainas.[5] But it is an evident fact that up to the last day of his life, he entertained unvarying devotion to the Brahmanical faith.

Merutuṅga tells[6] how the king summoned a convention, in which the representatives of the different sects assembled. On his putting to them the inquiry as to what constituted the true path of salvation, each spoke in favour of what was enjoined in his peculiar religious

1 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1919, pp. 61-66.

2 Peterson's 4th Report, Introduction, p. 3.

3 Peterson's Third Report, p. 91, v. 23.

4 E. C., Vol II (Sravanabelgola ins.), p. 35, No. 69.

5 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 52 ff,

6 Ibid., p. 63.

doctrine. Subsequently, a compromise was effected, by which all agreed to work together for the solution of the problem, going carefully into the merits of the different authorities. In six month's time they arrived at the conclusion that "By meditation one obtains salvation, regardless of the religion to which one adheres." The Goddess Sarasvatî is said to have appeared to the king in this connection, with the following message :[1]

"Are you awake ?
You must listen to the religion of the Buddhists, but
You must practise that of the Jainas,
You must meditate on the supreme Śiva."

We have no other evidence to corroborate the above report of Merutuṅga. It may be inferred from this that Bhoja followed a policy of toleration in religious matters. The great Jaina, author Abhayadeva, was born at Dhârâ. His father, Dhana, was a merchant in that city. Abhayakumâra was the name of Abhayadeva before his conversion to Jainism. He obtained the position of Âcârya at the age of sixteen, and he was made Sûri by Jineśvara, in V. S. 1088=1031 A. D.[2]

The king Naravarman was favourably disposed to the Jaina religion. Samudraghoṣa studied "Tarka Śâstra" (logic) in Mâlava.[3] Naravarman became greatly inclined to him on account of his vast learning. The Amamasvâmi-caritra[4] relates that, when Samudraghoṣa had addressed the assembly of learned men, the king Naravarman of Dhârâ, Siddharâja of Gujarat, and the Prince of

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 63.

2 Peterson's 4th Report, Introduction, p. 4.

3 Amamasvâmi-caritra, by Muniratna-Sûri ; Peterson's Third Report, p. 95, v. 8.

4 Peterson's Third Report of Operation in Search of Sanskrit Manuscript in the Bombay Circle, p. 95, v. 9.

Godhra listened to him with great interest. Samudraghoṣa's disciple, Sûraprabha, was highly renowned in Mâlava for his good qualities.[1] Naravarman also had great veneration for the Jaina teacher, Vallabha, at whose feet he is said to have bowed down his head.[2]

Jainism found a new life in Gujarat under the patronage of the Caulukya Kumârapâla (1145-1172 A. D.). The whole of Malwa was brought under his direct control; Jainas living there seem to have received fresh encouragement from him, and to have carried on their religious propaganda with much vigour.

About this time, Pandit Dhârâsena lived at Dhârâ. His disciple was Mahâvîra, a learned teacher versed in all the principles of the Jaina cult and Jaina grammar. He lived under the patronage of the Paramâra Vindhyavarman, who had great respect for the Jainas. During this period, Âśâdhara migrated to Malwa with all his family, and placed himself under the guidance of Mahâvîra. He found the holy Triad flourishing under the benevolent care of Vindhyavarman.[3] Vindhyavarman's successor, Subhaṭavarman, was an enemy of the Jaina religion. During his reign, it seems to have received a severe check in Malwa and Gujarat. Âśâdhara does not mention him in his writings. During his invasion of the Caulukya dominion, Subhaṭavarman took away nineteen gold jars from the Jaina temple at Dabhoi, and demolished a number of other Jaina temples in Gujarat.[4]

After the accession of Arjunavarman, Jainism again raised its head in Malwa. Âśâdhara tells us that the

1 Peterson's Third Report, p. 95, v. 10.

2 Abhayadeva's Jayantakâvya, Grantha-praśasti.

3 Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for the Sanskrit MSS., 1883-84, p. 104.

4 Vide ante, p. 197, foot-notes 4, 5.

territory of Arjunavarman was full of Jaina Śrâvakas, and that he himself lived in the city of Nalakaccapura in order to advance the cause of the Jaina faith. He wrote a series of pamphlets dealing with various aspects of its cult. They contain the duties of the Yatis. a metaphysical treatise relating to Syâdvâda, the essence of the teaching of the Arhats, etc. Âśâdhara lived until the middle of the thirteenth century A. D., and was patronised by the kings Devapâla, and Jaitugi.[1]

During this time the Jainas succeeded in establishing a strong organisation all over Northern India, with Gujarat as their headquarters. Vastupâla (1219-1233 A. D.), the minister of the Caulukya Vîradhavala, when he went on a pilgrimage, was attended by the "Saṅghapatis" (heads of the organised associations) from Lâṭa, Gauḍa, Maru, Kaccha, Ḍâhala, *Avanti*, and Vaṅga.[2]

In the middle of the thirteenth century A. D., Devendra seems to have been the head of the Jaina monastery at Ujjain.[3] He initiated Vîradhavala, and Bhîmasiṃha, sons of the Mahebhya Jinacandra, at Ujjain, in Saṃ. 1302=1245 A. D. In Saṃ. 1323=A. D. 1266, Vîradhavala received from him the office of Sûri, under the name of Vidyânanda Sûri, and Bhîmasiṃha the post of the teacher (Upâdhyâyapada), under the name of Dharmakîrti. Devendra died in Malwa in Saṃ. 1327=1270 A. D., and his successor, Vidyânanda, also expired thirteen days after that date. Vidyânanda's younger brother, Dharmakîrti then became the Sûri, under the name of Dharmaghoṣa. He died in Saṃ. 1357=1300 A. D.

1 Report of the Search for Sanskrit MSS., by Bhandarkar, 1883-1884, pp. 103-104.

2 Vasantavilâsa, sarga X.

3 I. A., Vol. XI, p. 255.

Jainism continued to flourish in Malwa for a long time. During the whole course of the Paramâra rule, though the Jainas spent much effort in an attempt to further the cause of their faith, they never succeeded in attaining predominance over the Brahmanical religion. Merutuṅga tells us[1] that when the flag of the Mahâkâla temple was hoisted all those of the Jainas had to be lowered.

ARCHITECTURE.

The Paramâra kings were great builders of magnificent cities, lakes, and temples. Bhoja rebuilt the city of Dhârâ.[2] A Hoysala grant from Belur, dated 1117 A. D., records that "Dhârâ was made prosperous by Bhoja."[3] Since his reign, it had enjoyed the position of the chief city of Malwa, even down to the time of the Muhammadan rule.[4]

Twenty miles south of the city of Bhopal are the remains of the ancient city of Bhojpur. Tradition ascribes its foundation to Bhoja. Not far from it, to the west, is the Bhojpur lake, which was once the greatest of its kind in India. The tradition runs that Bhoja was once attacked by a malady of the severest type, which threatened his life. No physician in the kingdom was able to cure him, but at last a recluse prescribed a remedy which, if properly applied, would definitely assure his recovery. The prescription was that the king should take a long course of baths in water supplied daily by three hundred and sixty five streams, and expert engineers were therefore sent all round the

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 90.
2 Ibid., p. 46.
3 Mysore Inscriptions, p. 261.
4 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 354.

Vindhya hill to discover a place that should fulfil these conditions. After much search, the present site of the lake was discovered, which was fed by three hundred and fifty-nine springs and the deficiency in the required number was subsequently made up by turning thither the courses of the river Kaliasot and its tributaries. Mr. W. Kincaid, who personally visited the lake, gives the following description of it: [1]

"It covered a valley which presents the most remarkable feature that, though it is so extensive, only two breaks occur in its wall of hills—one a little more than one hundred, the other about five hundred wide. Both of them were spanned by very remarkable dams, consisting of an earthen central band, faced on both sides, outer and inner, with immense blocks of stone, laid one on the other without mortar, but fitting so truly as to be water-tight, the other two faces sloping inwards from the base. The lesser opening was closed by a band 87 feet in height, and 300 ft. thick at the bases, or even more; the greater, by one in places 40 ft. high, and about 100 ft. broad on the top; and, though the first mentioned is now a complete wreck, the latter is intact and still continues to turn the river Kaliasot into the Betwa, and from its top the old bed of the stream is recognisable. The lesser but higher band was broken by Shâh Hussain, the greatest of the Mandu kings, for the purpose of utilising the bed of the lake."

On the ancient shore of the lake lies a number of flat blocks of stones. The people of the locality still believe that they were used as a boat-house by Râjâ Bhoja, who, every morning used to sail across the lake in order

1 I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 350 ff. J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 309. Malcolm, Central India, Vol. 1, p. 25. Map and plate J. R. A. S. 1916.

to pay his obeisance at the Buddhist caves on the opposite shore. The Bhojpur lake stands to day as a testimony to the extent of the engineering skill and workmanship achieved by the people of Malwa under the magnificent rule of the Paramâras.

The king Udayâditya founded the city of Udayapur, thirty miles to the north of Bhilsa. Tradition gives a legendary story in connection with the establishment of this city.[1] It runs as follows :—

One day the king, in the course of a hunting excursion, came upon a snake surrounded by fire and writhing in agony. He rescued the reptile, which at once begged for a drink of water. This being unobtainable, the king on the earnest request of the snake, put its mouth into his own in order to afford it temporary relief from its pain. But the snake betrayed his trust and slipped down into his stomach, which so upset and distressed the king that he determined to pass the rest of his life in Benares. With this object in view he set off from his capital, halting on his way at the present site of Udayapur at that time only a tiny village. Here he was sleeping in his tent, watched over by the queen, when another snake, which was guarding a treasure in a hole under a tree near by, peeped out to see what was happening. *The first snake saw this and thereupon addressed the second from the stomach of the king, warning it that it* would at once die, if anyone were to pour oil down into its hole. The treasure-guardian grew very angry, and retorted that the other snake was in no very safe position itself, since if anyone administered to the king a dose of pepper, salt, and buttermilk, that would be sufficient to put an end to its life. The queen, overhearing this

1 Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India, vol. X, pp. 65-66.

conversation, proceeded immediately to profit by the information she received, and administered the suggested dose to the king, whereupon he at once brought up the snake dead, as had been fortold ; after which he proceeded to pour oil down the hole of the other snake, and having thus killed that also, took possession of the treasure. To commemorate this event, he built there a city and a temple and named them after himself.

The above story is no doubt an absolute myth, and there is evidence, in the words of a contemporary inscription,[1] that the city was built by UdayÂditya. Udayapur is now once again only a small village, but there remain numerous traces of its ancient glory. Udayasamudra, the construction of which is also attributed by an early record to UdayÂditya cannot now be traced.[2]

The king DevapÂla built the city of Depalpur, now merely a village, about thirty miles to the north-west of Indore.[3] He also excavated a lake, known as Depalsagar, at one end of that village, which is now a fine sheet of water covering a space of several square miles.[4]

During the happy reign of the ParamÂras, a large number of superb and magnificent temples were built in Malwa. But, unfortunately, only a few specimens of them remain to us now, to be described at length in the following pages. After the fall of the Paramâras, Malwa became an important centre of the Muhammadans, and the latter, in order to obtain materials for

1 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1914, p. 66.

2 Ibid.

3 In the TabaqÂt-i-Akbarî the pargana of DîpÂlpur is mentioned as a dependency of Malwa (Elliot, History of India, Vol. V, P. 403). The place is also mentioned in the BÂdshÂh-NÂma (ibid., Vol. VII, p. 19.)

4 Prog. Rep. Arch. Sur., Western Circle, 1920, p. 102,

the construction of their mosques, demolished many Hindu temples. The Muhammadan historians present us with a vivid description of how Iyal-Timish sacked and ravaged the great temple of MahâkÂla at Ujjain, the object of the veneration and respect of the whole of Hindu India.

The Udayapur praśasti tells us [1] that Bhoja beautified the world by covering it with temples, dedicated to Kedâreśvara, Râmeśvara, Somanâtha, Suṃḍîra (?), Kâla, Anala and Rudra. I do not think that this, by any means, refers to the king's participation in the building of the great temple of Somanâtha in Kathiawar or of Râmeśvara in Southern India, as suggested by some historians. Besides the great temple of Râmeśvara in Madura and the temple of Somanâtha in Kathiawar, there were others dedicated to the same gods in different provinces of India. At Belur, in the Bombay Presidency, there is an old temple of Râmeśvara. [2] Similarly, a temple of Somanâtha is to be found in Deotalao in the Rewa State. [3] Consideration of these things leads me to believe that all the temples mentioned in the Udayapur praśasti were built in Malwa, though none of them can be traced now.

THE NÎLAKANṬHEŚVARA TEMPLE AT UDAYAPUR.

The great Nîlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Udayapur was built by Udayâditya in Saṃ 1116=1059 A. D. [4] An

1 Kedâra-Râmeśvara-Somanâtha--(Suṃ)ḍîra–kâlÂnala-Rudra satkaiḥ surâśra (yai) r vyâpya ca yaḥ samantâd-yathârtha-saṃjñâṃ jagatîṃ cakâra ॥ v. 20, E. I., Vol. I, p. 236.

2 Prog. Report of the Archæol. Survey, Western Circle, 1921, p. 16.

3 Ibid., p. 21.

4 J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 548.

inscription of the sixteenth century A. D.[1] describes it as the most beautiful temple in India. It is one of the few temples in Malwa which were spared complete demolition by the Muhammadan iconoclasts. Immediately after the conquest of Udayapur, Sultân Muḥammad Tughluq (A. D 1325) is said to have ordered this structure to be blown up. Gunpowder was heaped in and around the temple, but the priests, by secretly introducing streams of water upon them, rendered the ammunition ineffective. The Sultân took it for a miracle, and revoked his order. One of the halls, for reading Vedas, in the corner of the courtyard, was, on that occasion, converted into a mosque.

Tradition tells us that[2] the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, on his way back to Delhi from his Deccan wars, halted at Udayapur, and was amazed at the supreme beauty of the temple. He gave orders for its destruction, in order to build a mosque out of its materials. But Mahâdeva, the deity of the temple, appeared to him in a dream and threatened him with the penalty of death should his orders be carried out. To enforce his threat, moreover, the god smote him with illness, after which the emperor, becoming alarmed, rescinded his order.

The temple is still perfect and complete,[3] and is one of the best specimens of North-Indian architecture. It is built of hard, fine-grained red sandstone, and stands in the centre of a large paved courtyard. It consists of a shrine and a hall. The hall has three porches projecting from its side, access to them being given by flights of steps, the principal one being on the east. The lower

1 J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 548.

2 Cunningham's Archæological Survey of India, Vol. VII, p. 85.

3 Plate.

parts of all the porches are provided with stone screens with small gaps in the entrance ways. Above the screens are stone benches with short pillars, supporting the roof. In the centre of the hall or sabhâmaṇḍapa there is a bull (Nandi), above which is a domed ceiling. Eight pillars and four pilasters support the roof of the hall. The pillars are massive but well-proportioned and beautiful. Each of them is square from the bottom to a certain height, and then rises octagonal to the top, where it is crowned by a circular cap. Over each of these caps there is a bracket capital, rendering the whole pillar from top to bottom symmetrical. The external roof of the hall is pyramidal, and is made of overlapping stones forming circular steps, diminishing in size as they ascend. Each of these steps is adorned with vases of different shapes, and there are twelve ribs composed of sculptured female figures.

The tower of the shrine is similar in form to that of Gondeśvara at Sinnar, in the Nasik District, and that of Ambaranâtha, in the Thana District, and differs in detail and plan from the Khajuraho groups. Its external surface is divided into four sections by an equal number of decorated horizontal bands Each of these divisions is covered with thirty-five miniature 'śikharas' or spires, divided equally into five rows. The bands are remarkble for their elegance of design and refined carving. The whole of the tower is surmounted by an 'âmalakaśilâ' and a vase. In the north-western corner, immediately below the 'âmalakaśilâ,' there is a human figure elaborately dressed and ornamented, holding the lower end of a flag-staff. It is probably a statue of Udayâditya, the founder of the temple. An inscription records that Udayâditya repaired this flag-staff in 1080 A. D.[1] In the

1 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 83.

sanctum there is a big stone 'liṅga,' covered with a brass sheet, which was only recently added. The entrance-door leading to the interior of the shrine, where the deity is, is profusely decorated with sculptures. There are five jambs on each side of the door, some of which are enriched with elegant floral designs. The outermost jambs are sculptured with a series of horsemen, and thus differ in detail from the rest. On the lintel are figures of Gaṇeśa and Śiva, and on the frieze above are the figures of five goddesses in a row.

The whole structure has an extremely pleasing appearance, and every inch of it is profusely decorated with great harmony and accuracy. Mr Beglar, who has made a special study of it, remarks that[1] "It is in excellence of execution of the floral sculptured ornamentations that this temple surpasses all others. They are executed with remarkble fineness and freedom, and are not overcrowded so as to destroy effect, but by a judicious interposition of broad plain surfaces worked with exquisite care, the ornamental value both of the flowered bands and of the plain, are mutually enhanced."

Mr. Fergusson, the well-known authority upon Eastern architecture, says that,[2] "As every part of this temple is carved with great precision and delicacy, and as the whole is quite perfect at the present day, there are few temples of its class which give a better idea of the style than this one."

In front of the temple is a "vedi", which is said to have been built by the king for offering a sacrifice just after the completion of the fane. It is a square chamber enclosed with stone screens.

1 Beglar's Report, A. S. I., Vol. VII, p. 86.

2 Fergusson's Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, p. 147.

There were four subordinate temples, one in each corner of the courtyard, and four square 'vedis' for reading 'Vedas' in, one in the middle of each side of the courtyard. Muḥammad Ṭugluq, who, as we have seen, spared the main shrine, razed to the ground the north-east corner temple, and the hall, for reading Vedas, and erected in their place a mosque, which still contains two inscriptions, dated Hijra 737 and 739.

Each hall for reading Vedas is a square building, the roof of which is supported by four massive pillars. The ceiling is, as usual, built of overlapping stones. There are four balconies, one on each side of the hall, two of which are closed with massive trellises. Each of these balconies is provided with a raised slab of stone which served as a seat for the reader. [1]

The modern village of Un is situated eighteen miles to the west of Khargaon, in the Nimar District of Indore State. During the rule of the ParamÂra dynasty it was an important town, and was one of the chief centres of architectural activity. A large number of temples, both Hindu and Jaina, still exist there to prove its ancient greatness. They resemble the Khajuraho group in form and plan. With the exception of Khajuraho, Un is the only place in Northern India where we find so many ancient monuments together. On the wall of one of these temples there is an inscription of the ParamÂra UdayÂditya (1059-1086 A. D.), which gives a definite clue to the age of these buildings.

1 Progress Report of the Archaeol. Survey, Western Circle, 1914, pp. 64-67; Cunningham's Report, A. S. I., Vol. X, pp. 68-69; Beglar's Report, A. S. I., Vol. VII, pp. 81-88; Fergusson's Eastern Art and Architecture, Vol. II, pp. 146, 147.

THE GROUP OF TEMPLES AT UN.

(*a*) *The Chaubara Dera temple* is the largest in the group. It consists of a shrine and a maṇḍapa. The maṇḍapa has three porches, one on each side, of which the front one is the largest and the most elegantly carved; and on the door connecting it with the maṇḍapa there are figures of Śiva and the seven Mothers. The dome of the maṇḍapa is based on four stone lintels, which again stand on four round stone pillars. The dome and the pillars are remarkable for their minute carvings and beautiful designs. On the lower half of the pillars there are small and large standing female figures. The plan and workmanship of the whole of this maṇḍapa is reminiscent of the Tejaḥpâla temple on Mount Abu.[1] A small passage, with a door at either end, connects the maṇḍapa with the Garbhagṛha (sanctum). The lintel of the door facing the maṇḍapa is very well carved, and consists of the figures of Gaṇeśa, Brahmâ, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sarasvatî. On the northern wall of the passage are engraved the inscription of Udayâditya and a "Sarpa-bandha" (intertwined snakes), similar to that on Bhoja's school at Dhârâ. On the lintel of the door at the other end are representations of Śiva and the seven Mothers, all in dancing attitudes. The back walls of the sanctum and the pyramidal tower were broken down by a Muhammadan contractor in order to supply rubble for road-making. This has reduced the main structure of the building to a miserable condition. The interior of the tower is divided into four square cells, one over the other, diminishing in size as they ascend. Some portion of the land around the temple has been

1 Eastern Art and Architecture (Fergusson), Vol. II, p. 42 fn.

excavated and a number of Jaina images brought to light. One of them contains the date V. S. 1182 or 1192=1125 or 1135 A. D. A small fane, dedicated to Śiva, lies to the north of the main temple, the maṇḍapa and front porch of which are now in ruins.

(*b*) *Mahâkâleśvara.* This temple stands to the north of the Chaubara-Dera No. I. The roof and walls of its maṇḍapa have now collapsed. All the porches, except the southern one, have disappeared. The remains of the bases of the three pillars, which once supported the dome of the maṇḍapa, can still be traced. The small passage leading to the sanctum has niches in the wall containing images of Brahmâ and Śiva. The rear walls of the sanctum and the tower are broken down. The general plan of the building is the same as that of the Chaubara Dera and may well be compared with the great temple at Koveh, near Tikari, in the Gaya District of Bihar.

(*c*) *Vallabheśvara.* This temple lies to the north-west of that just described. In later times, when its śikhara' (tower) collapsed, it was replaced by a dome similar to that of the Muhammadan mosque. The maṇḍapa with its porches has entirely disappeared. The lintel of the entrance door is supported by two well -shaped massive pillars. The temple is very poor in respect of carving, and the design is simple.

(*d*) *Nîlakaṇṭheśvara.* This magnificent temple of Nîlakaṇṭheśvara Mahâdeva is situated in the interior of the village. The maṇḍapa and its porches have broken down. The lintel of the front door of the passage leading to the sanctum is in a ruinous condition, and is now supported by two small pillars, which seem formerly to have belonged to the porch. The jambs and lintels of the doors at the end of the passage contain decorative designs. The figure of Śiva, dancing with seven divine Mothers, occupies spaces on one of the lintels. The

top of the Śikhara is broken and has fallen down. There is a 'liṅga' inside the 'Garbhagṛha', around which now lie scattered the images of the mediæval Hindu deities-Viṣṇu, Sûrya, the Varâha incarnation, and Pârvatî. There are four finely decorated bands on the external surface of the Śikhara and sanctum, each containing niches, in which lie the images of Câmuṇḍa, Nateśa and Tripurâri. The intervening spaces between the bands are covered with miniature rows of Śikharas. The whole of the temple, though now in ruins, presents a graceful view of its past greatness.

(*e*) *Gupteśvara* and (*f*) *Mahâkâleśvara* 2. These Śaiva temples are situated close to Nîlakaṇṭheśvara. The Gupteśvara is a subterranean building, and has now lost everything except a small chamber. The maṇḍapa of the Mahâkâleśvara has totally disappeared, and the top of its śikhara has fallen down.

(*g*) *Chaubara Dera No. 2.*, a magnificent Jaina temple, lies between Mahâkâleśvara and Chaubara Dera No. 1. Its maṇḍapa is in good condition, with a large porch in front of it. It is square in shape, and contains eight pillars in the middle, supporting the dome. It is provided with four doorways, one of which leads to the sanctum. The Śikhara has altogether disappeared, rendering the sanctum roofless. There are two Digambara Jaina images within the sanctum, one of which contains the date Saṃ. 13 (XX).

(*h*) *Goaleśvara.* The Jaina temple of Goaleśvara is still in almost perfect condition, except that its 'âmalakaśilâ' and vase have been lost. There is no porch attached to the maṇdapa, which is a square chamber with four domes. The floor of the sanctum is about ten feet below the level of that of the maṇḍapa. Access to the maṇḍapa from the sanctum is provided by steps downwards. The main tower is surrounded by miniature

'Śikharas' like that of the Pârśvanâtha temple at Khajuraha. They are not so conventional as those on the temple of Nîlakanṭheśvara at Udayapur. Inside the sanctum there stands on a pedastal a row of three 'Digambara' Jaina images. An inscription records that they were dedicated in Saṃ. 1263=1206 A. D.[1]

THE NEMAWAR TEMPLES.

(*a*) *The Siddhanātha temples.* Nemawar, the ancient Narmadâpura, twelve miles from Harda station on the G. I. P. Railway, has been renowned from ancient times as a great place of pilgrimage. Here lies the magnificent temple of Siddhanâtha or Siddheśvara, dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries A. D. On the pillars of the maṇḍapa there are two inscriptions, dated Saṃ. 1253=1196 A. D. and Saṃ 1281=1224 A. D. respectively, recording the visit of some pilgrims. The temple is complete, and consists of the sanctum with its Śikhara and the maṇḍapa. The former is built of yellowish-grey stone, and the latter of bluish sandstone. The maṇḍapa might have been added in latter times, the date of which cannot be pushed beyond 1196 A. D., and there are some structures on its top which have been made recently. It is a square chamber, having an open porch on each of the three sides. Four fine carved pillars support each of the porches. The trabeate dome of the maṇḍapa rests on four big lintels, which are supported by two large and ten small pillars. There are niches on the pillars, containing standing figures of Śivagaṇas, with bulls couchant near their feet. The spaces between the small pillars are provided with finely perforated stone screens.

1. For the group of temples at Un, see Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1919, pp. 61-64, (Plates XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI).

There are also niches in the lintels, containing divine figures. The dome is the most attractive feature in the whole of the structure. In the centre of it is a pendant, around which there are carved lotus petals. Below them are sixteen stone brackets, representing female figures, intersecting a succession of circular bands. The dome presents a gorgeous spectacle like that of the Mount Abu Vimala temple. The ceiling of the 'antarâla' is gracefully decorated with inverted full-blossomed lotus flowers. The doorway leading to the 'garbhagṛha' shows beautiful designs of architectural work, and its lintel bears niches, nine in number, containing images of Brahmâṇî, Maheśvarî, Kârttikeyî, Vaiṣṇavî, Varâhî, Indrâṇî, Câmuṇḍâ, and Mahâdevî. In the centre is Śiva holding a Vîṇâ, a Ḍamaru and a skull-cup with his four hands. A bull couchant is below at his feet.

The 'garbhagṛha' is projected in three sides. There are five recessed corners between them, each of which contains five vertical rows of miniature temples, placed one over the other. All round the plinth of the 'garbhagṛha' is a large number of niches, containing altogether ninety-nine semi-divine figures. The śikhara with its âmalaka-śilâ is perfect, and is of the same type as that of the Nîlakaṇṭheśvara Mahâdeva at Un.[1]

(*b*) *The Incomplete Temple of Viṣṇu.* To the north of the shrine of Siddheśvara lies the incomplete temple of Viṣṇu. It was left unfinished beyond the garbhagṛha. Hence neither the śikhara nor the maṇḍapa is to be seen. On the plinth of the garbhagṛha there are three bands of lotus-leaves, two bands of kîrtimukhas, a row of elephants and a row of dancing human figures. Besides these, the walls contain numerous mouldings and a large

1 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1921, pp. 98-106.

number of divine figures, of which those of Viṣṇu are the most numerous. The roof of the antarâla is carved in the same manner as that of the Siddheśvara. The jambs of the door leading to the garbhagṛha from the 'antarâla' are extravagantly decorated with mouldings, containing creeper patterns and flying figures holding garlands in their hands.[1]

(c) *A Jaina Temple in ruins, in Bijawada.*[2] The great Jaina temple at Bijawada, a village 33 miles west of Nemawar and 49 miles east of Indore, is in absolute ruins. The most notable objects in it are three colossal Digambara Jaina images. One of them contains a date, Saṃ. 1234=1177 A. D, on the pedestal.

A TEMPLE OF ŚIVA AT MODI.

Modi is the chief village of the pargana of the same name. It is thirteen miles east of Rampur, Central India, and was a place of great importance during the rule of the Paramâras. Heaps of ruins of a large number of buildings attest its former greatness. A stone inscription of the Paramâra Jayavarman, dated Saṃ. 1314=1257 A. D, has been discovered there. At present only one temple of Śiva stands in the village, which is also in a very miserable condition. The garbhagṛha is almost perfect. On the lintel of the doorway leading to its interior is a figure of Śiva, known as Lakulîśa. The basement stones contain some inscriptions in characters of the twelfth century A. D. There are no traces of the maṇḍapa and other subsidiary temples.

Close to the above temple are the remains of part of a maṇḍapa of another fane. It now contains four

1 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1921, pp. 98-106.

2 Ibid.

pillars, gracefully decorated and supporting square brackets. It is believed to have been one of the finest temples in Malwa.[1]

THE MEHIDPUR TEMPLES.

The modern District of Mehidpur lies in Central Malwa, and is not far from Ujjain. The villages of Jharda, Makla and Delchi are within its jurisdiction. Considerable remains of the architectural buildings of the mediaeval period are to be traced there. Outside the village of Jharda are two ancient Brahmanic temples, one dedicated to Śiva and the other to Hanumat. In the interior of the village a number of Brahmanic and Jaina images are to be found. On the pedestal of a Jaina sculpture is an inscription, containing the date Saṃ. 1229=1172 A. D.

The fanes of Gaṇapati and Mâkâleśvara Śiva are the two most important buildings in the village of Makla. They were built during the eleventh or twelfth century A. D. The Mâkâleśvara temple is in good order, and deserves special attention. The garbhagṛha and the śikhara are quite perfect. The horizontal bands of the śikhara bear a series of conventional 'caitya' windows, one over the other. The walls of the śikhara and the garbhagṛha are almost plain, and contain very poor decorations. The âmalakaśilâ is proportionately bigger in size. The original maṇḍapa has been destroyed, and the present one is a recent addition.[2]

1 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1920, pp. 100-102.

2 Ibid.

THE GREAT TEMPLE OF ŚIVA AT BHOJPUR.[1]

At Bhojpur. in the Bhopal State, there is a large temple of Siva known as Bhojeśvara, which was evidently named after the great king Bhoja. It is a building of the eleventh or twelfth century A. D., and is in plan a simple square. It differs from others of its class in this respect that it has no re-entrant angles. Its exterior dimension is 66 feet. Four massive pillars support an incomplete dome inside the building. Each of them is 40 feet high, and is divided into three sections. The lower two are octagonal, and are surmounted by a 24-faced section. The whole of the pillar is tapering in appearance. The dome itself is magnificent, and is carved with rich designs. There are two sculptured figures on either side of the doorway, which is richly decorated above but plain below. There are three balconies on three sides, each supported by massive brackets and four decorated pillars. Inside the building lies a colossal 'liṅgam', seven and a half feet high and seventeen feet eight inches in circumference, on a platform made of three superimposed blocks of sandstone, twenty-one and a half feet square. The temple, though incomplete, is singularly beautiful.

A Jaina temple of the same age lies close to the above shrine. It is rectangular and incomplete. It contains two figures of Pârśvanâtha and one colossal statue of Mahâvîra, twenty feet high.

BIJAMANDIRA AT BHILSA.

On the outskirts of the modern town of Bhilsa, in the Gwalior State, there is a Muhammadan mosque known locally as 'Bijamandira'. A careful examination

1 Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VIII, p. 121.

of this building reveals the fact that it is a converted Hindu temple of mediæval times. A long inscription of Naravarman's reign has been discovered on one of its pillars, which records the king's unvarying devotion to the Goddess Carcikâ. It may be that the fane originally belonged to this Goddess. Another inscription, of Udayâditya's reign (*i. e.* Udayavarman), dated Śaka 1103—1186 A. D., has been found inserted in the wall of this temple.[1]

BHOJAŚÂLÂ AT DHAR.

The tradition runs that the modern Kamalmauli mosque at Dhar was originally a building of the college established by Bhoja. It is still known as 'Bhojaśâlâ' (Bhoja's School) to the local Hindu population. Two slabs of stone, incised in the walls of this building, contain inscriptions of the reigns of Bhoja and Arjunavarman. Besides these, inscriptions of the reigns of Udayâditya and Naravarman, and a chart containing the Sanskrit alphabet and rules of grammar, have also been discovered here. The modern structure is quite Muhammadan in style,[2] and seems to have been constructed with the materials of a Hidu temple which stood on the same site. Dr. Bhandarkar[3] is inclined to think that it was the site of the temple of Sarasvatî, mentioned in the Pârijâta-mañjarî.

SCULPTURE.

All these details give us an idea of the architectural skill to which the people of Malwa attained during

1 J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35.

2 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, pp. 341, 345.

3 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1904, p. 18.

the happy period of the Paramâra dynasty. Iconography also rose to a high level at this same time. In Saṃ. 1091=1034 A. D., by the orders of Bhoja, the famous sculptor Manathala [1] executed an image of Sarasvatî, now in the custody of the British Museum, which has all the characteristics of mediæval sculptures. The Goddess is in the 'abhaṅga' pose, with four hands, the front pair being now imperfect, half of each having disappeared. She wears a crown, and her ear-rings hang down to her shoulders, whilst round her neck is a pearl necklace, and a pearl-embroidered band encircles her breast; her waist is also decorated all round. She is attended by five subordinate figures, two above and three below. On the left, below, are a ṛṣi and a dwarf, and on the right, probably, Pârvatî on the lion. On the left above is a flying female figure with a garland in her hand; the other figure is indis-tinct. The Devî is in meditative mood, and her face is lovely and serene. Mr. O. C. Ganguly, an expert iconographist, remarks[2] that the "image is a *chef d'oeuvre* of rare beauty, in its exquisite serenity of pose, in its entrancing and balancing rhythm, in the elegance and suavity of its aquiline features, and in the general restraint in the treatment of the anatomy, which is almost free from any exaggeration. To us, the emotion of its static conception, almost alternating between a 'râjasik' and a 'sâtvik', is most appealing." The image is also of great value for more than one reason. In it we find the union of characteristic features of both the North and South Indian sculptures. Its 'uru malai' (thigh ornament) and carnet are Dravidian in style,

1 Rûpam, January, 1924, p. 2. Elements of Hiudu Iconography, (by Mr. G. Rao.). Vol. I, Part II, pp. 377-78.

2 Ibid., p. 1.

The ornaments of its arms remind us of the early images of Bengal and Orissa.

Another image[1] has been discovered in the Devî tank at Dhar. It is carved out of hard white stone, and is in perfect condition. An inscription on the pedestal, recording its installation, is dated Saṃ. 1138 = 1081 A. D., which falls within the reign of Udayâditya. Mr M. B. Garde identifies the Goddess as Pârvatî. The style of her ornamentation agrees in general with that of the Sarasvatî image of Bhoja. Her crown differs in detail from that of the above-mentioned image, but she too wears the necklace and garlands of pearls and ear-rings, and her four hands are adorned with ornaments. Her breast-band, drapery, and thigh ornament are similar to those of the Sarasvatî image, but she is attended by eight figures. Above are representations of Brahmâ, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and Śiva, and below, the female attendants with 'chowries'. Above all are the sacrificial altars, two on each side. The Devî is deeply immersed in meditation, with her hands in an attitude of prayer. Her face breathes an air of purity and is expressive of divine serenity. Mr. Garde suggests that she is engaged in performing the 'Pañcâgni-Sâdhana' which, according to Purâṇa, was undertaken for obtaining Śiva as her husband.

There is an iron pillar at Dhar, the date of erection of which cannot be definitely ascertained.[2] It may be the work of Vairisiṃha II. The Udayapur praśasti[3] attributes to him the erection of a number of pillars of victory. Dr. Bhandarkar suggests that it might have

1 Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 100 (1922-23).

2 A. S. I., 1902-3, pp. 245 ff.

3 E. I., Vol. I, p. 237, v. 8.

been set up by Arjunavarman after his victory over the Gujarat king.[1]

Relics of the architectural activities of the Paramâras can also be traced in the far distant country of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa, in his Râjataraṅgiṇî,[2] records that Bhoja, king of Mâlava, once took a vow to wash his face every day with the water of Pâpasûdana tîrtha in Kashmir. He was enabled to fulfil this vow by the good offices of a certain Padmarâja, who excavated a tank for this purpose at Kapoteśvara, whence jugs full of water used to be sent to him. Kapoteśvara is the modern Kother, where the enclosure around the tank still exists, having the characteristics of the structural buildings of the mediæval period. Local tradition runs that a king of the Deccan, once being disfigured by the growth of a number of horns on his head, took his bath in that kuṇḍa (tank), and was relieved of his trouble, whereupon he recorded his gratitude by surrounding it with a wall. Sir A. Stein thinks that there is a good deal of truth in this story, although in those early ages, there was less facility for the conveyance of anything from one country to another. Jamadar Khushal Singh, at the court of Rañjit Singh, often had the water of the Ganges brought to his residence in the Punjab that he might bathe in it. Ranvîr Singh of Kashmir drank nothing but Ganges water, which was supplied to him regularly from Hardwar. The Muhammadan historians relate[3] that Ganges water was brought regularly to Gujarat, for the baths of Somanâtha.

1 Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, 1904, p. 19.

2 Chronicles of Kashmir, translated by Sir A. Stein, Vol. I, p. 284; Bk. VII, verses 190-193.

3 Elliot's History of India, Vol. II, p. 469.

Hence it is not impossible to imagine that a great king like Bhoja could make temporary arrangements for bringing water regularly to him from that particular tank in Kashmir.

LITERATURE AND LEARNING.

During the magnificent rule of the Paramâra dynasty Malwa was justly renowned on account of its extensive architectural activities. But behind all these activities, there lay a life, a thought, an ideal whose refinement of character found expression rather in the literature of the time than in such concrete examples. And to this branch of liberal art the government of the country, by its benevolent support, gave opportunity of wide and unbounded development.

The Paramâra kings were great votaries of the Goddess of learning, and were in reality the very heart of the great literary movement of the period. Many of them were themselves great poets. Their generous sympathy encouraged others to devote their lives to the enrichment of the stores of literature. Sîyaka-Harṣa won imperial status for his family by the strength of his arms, and left to his successors the task of building up an ideal empire. His son Vâkpatirâja, while doing full justice to his regal position by his care for the political interests of his realm, spared no effort to further the cause of the literary movement also. The Udayapur praśasti tells us that he cultivated eloquence, lofty poetry, the art of reasoning, and a complete mastery over the rules of the Śâstras.[1] The Kauthem[2] and Yeur grants of the Câḷukya Vikramâditya V describe Utpala as the chief of poets. Padmagupta writes that

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 16.

2 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23,—kavi-vṛṣa.

"after Vikramâditya and Sâtavâhana had gone home, the Goddess Sarasvatî reposed beside this poet friend."[1]

To-day, all we know of the king's compositions are in the form of quotations made by contemporary and later authors in their own writings. Dhanika, in his commentary on Daśarûpa, twice quotes a verse, whose authorship he ascribes in one place to Vâkpatirâja, and in the other to Muñja.[2] The Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra, quotes three different stanzas, composed by Utpalarâja, in his books Suvṛttatilaka,[3] Kavikaṇṭhâbharaṇa,[4] and Aucityavicâracarcâ.[5] This last is a treatise on 'alaṃkâra', in which the verse composed by the king begins with "ahau vâ hâre vâ" etc. The same stanza occurs in the anthology of Vallabhadeva, its author being given as Vâkpati, the son of Harṣadeva.[6] In the Rasikasaṃjîvanî Arjunavaraman quotes a verse, the authorship of which he ascribes to his ancestor Muñja, whose other name was Vâkpati.[7] Two other verses by the king are reproduced in the Śarṅgadharapaddhati (1363 A. D.).[8] Merutuṅga has incorporated in his Prabandhacintâmaṇi some verses, which, according to him, were composed by the king during his captivity in the Deccan.[9]

1 Atite Vikramâditye gate' staṃ Sâtavâhane |
Kavi-mitre viśaśrâma yasmin devî Sarasvatî ||
(Navas., Sarga xi, v. 93.)

2 Praṇaya-kupitaṃ dṛṣṭa, vs. 66, 67.

3 Kâvyamâlâ-Part 2. ed. Durgaprasad and Parab. Bombay 1886, —. 37.

4 Ibid., Part 4, 1887, p. 125.

5 Ibid., Part 1, 2nd ed. 1893, p. 131.

6 Subhâṣitâvali—3413, 3414 ; Peterson, p. 449.

7 Amaruśataka—Durgaprasad and Parab, 1819, p. 23.

8 Vs. 126 (by Vâkpatirâja), 1017 (by Utpalarâja).

9 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 33-35. Mr. Tawney remarks

"Muñja-pratideśa-vyavasthâ", a geographical description of India, is said to have been written by Vâkpatirâja.[1] His death was a real loss to the literary circles of that period. He is said to have exclaimed, when he was led to execution in the Câḷukya capital—[2]

"Fortune will go to Govinda ; glory and heroism to the house of the Hero ;

"But when Muñja has passed away, that storehouse of fame, Sarasvatî, will be without support."

Sindhurâja's valuable patronage was a great inducement to the poets of his time to continue their work. His bounty to men of letters was immeasurable. His son Bhoja took great interest in literary activities.

Vastupâla, who was the governor of Vâghelâ Vîradhavala, at Cambay, flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century A. D., and he also was a great patron of poets. In the 'Vasantavilâsa his enormous bounty towards them is compared with that of Bhoja and Muñja. It tells us[3] that he offered so many gifts to the men of wisdom, that before them long accumulated fame of Bhoja and Muñja paled into insignificance.

Merutuṅga, being unable to determine the age of Bâṇa, Mayûra, and Mâgha, placed them in Bhoja's entourage.[4] These erudite scholars flourished long before the king's accession. The Bhoja-carita gives the names of a large number of poets as contemporaries of Bhoja.

that the speeches of Muñja are to be looked upon as based on oral tradition.

1 As. Re., Vol. IX, p. 176.

2 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 35.

3 Kâvya-keli-rasikaḥ kavi-vṛndâvarjanam samataniṣṭa tathâsau Muñja-Bhoja-yaśasâṃ dhruvam ojaḥ-sañcayo bhuvi yathâ sau vṛthâ' bhut (sarga 5, v. 14).

4 Prabandhacintâmaṇi pp. 48-52, 64, 65.

But the list is erroneous from the chronological point of view. There can hardly be any doubt that a large number of poets lived in Malwa under his benevolent patronage. Kalhaṇa tells us[1] that both Kalaśa (1063-1089 A. D.) and Bhoja were very learned, and were the friends of poets. The king occasionally encouraged men of letters by conferring on them honorific titles. Bhâskarabhaṭṭa, son of the poet Trivikrama, received from him the title of 'Vidyâpati.'[2] The Āîn-i-Akbarî[3] relates that—"Bhoja held wisdom in honour, the learned men were treated with distinction, and seekers after knowledge were encouraged by his support. Five hundred sages, the most erudite of the age, shone as the gathered wisdom of his court, and were entertained in a manner becoming their dignity and merit."

The Udayapur praśasti[4] glorifies Bhoja as the king of poets. He is said to have composed a large number of books and the authorship of the following works is ascribed to him.[5]

Name of Work	Subject of Work.
(a) Adityapratâpasiddhânta	(a) Astronomy
(b) Âyurvedasarvasva	(b) Medicine
(c) Campurâmâyaṇa	(c)
(d) Câṇakyanîti (?)	(d)
(e) Cârucaryâ	(e) Religion
(f) Tattvaprakâśa	(f) Śaivism
(g) Nâmamâlikâ	(g) Lexicography
(h) Yuktikalpataru	(h) Arts, etc.

1 Stein's Râjataraṅgiṇî, Vol. I., p. 290.
2 E. I., Vol. I, p. 340.
3 Translated by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 216.
4 E. I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 18. Kavirâja.
5 Catalogus Catalogorum, Aufrecht, Part I, p. 418.

(i) Râjamârtaṇḍa Yogasûtravṛtti	(i) Commentary on Yogasûtra
(j) ,, ,,	(j) Astronomy
(k) Râjamṛgâṅka Yogasûtravṛtti	(k) ,, and Medicine
(l) Vidyâvinoda	(l) Poetry
(m) Vidvajjanavallabha Praśnajñâna	(m) Astronomy
(n) Viśrantavidyâvinoda	(n) Medicine
(o) Vyavahârasamuccaya	(o) Religion
(p) Śabdânuśâsana	(p) Grammar
(q) Śâlihotra	(q) Farriery
(r) Śivatattvaratnakalikâ	(r)
(s) Samarâṅganasutradhâra	(s) Architecture
(t) Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa	(t) Alaṃkâra
(u) Siddhântasaṃgraha	(u) Śaivism
(v) Subhâṣitaprabandha	(v)
(w) Two Prâkrit Poems at Dhar[1]	(w)

It is doubtful whether Bhoja himself wrote so many books on different subjects. Some of them might have been his own productions, but the rest seem to have been written by a group of literary men under his guidance. Of all the books in the above list, Râjamṛgâṅka alone contains the date of its composition, which is expressed in the Śaka era as 964-1042-1043 A. D. The king is highly esteemed by the poets Cittapa, Deveśvara, Vinâyaka, Śaṅkara, and Sarasvatîkuṭumbaduhitṛ. He is referred to by Daśabala, Allâḍanâtha, Raghunandana and Sûlapâṇi in the Prâyaścittaviveka. He is quoted in Bhâvaprakâśa and Mâdhava's Rugviniścaya as a writer on medicine. As an astronomer he is noticed by Keśavârka, and as a grammarian and lexicographer by Kṣîrasvâmi, Sâyaṇa, and Mahîpa,[2]

1 E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 241 ff.

2 Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I, p. 418.

Both UdayÂditya and Naravarman were staunch supporters of all cultural movements. Naravarman himself was a poet. He composed the Nagpur praśasti.[1] His court was adorned with a large number of poets. On one occasion, two learned men, from a foreign country, visited Naravarman's court at DhÂrÂ, and proposed to the assembled company some poetic riddles. As none of the Court poets was able to solve them, the king sent them to Jaina teacher Jinavallabha, who lived at Citrakûṭa (Chitor). Jinavallabha at once gave them the right solutions, and returned them to the king. Naravarman was highly pleased with him, and received him with great honour upon his visiting DhÂrÂ on a subsequent occasion. A large sum of money was offered him as a gift, but he refused to accept it, and requested the king to make some endowments, instead, to the Jaina temples at Citrakûṭa.[2]

Next, and the last of the ParamÂra kings, to be endowed with poetical genius, was Arjunavarman. His inscriptions[3] celebrate his merit by stating that he was a repository of poetry and song, and that he relieved the Goddess of Learning of her volumes and lute. He is the author of :—

(a) Rasikajîvanî KÂvya

(b) Rasikasaṃjîvinî Amaruśataka-ṭîkÂ.

His court also was graced by a large number of poets.

Even in the dark days of the decline of their power, the ParamÂra kings did not withdraw their support from

1 E. I, Vol. II, p. 180.

2 Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1882-3, p. 47.

3 KÂvya-gÂndharva-sarvasva-nidhinÂ yena sÂmpratam |
bhÂrÂvatÂraṇaṃ devyÂś cakre pustaka-vîṇayoḥ ‖ V. 18.
J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII. p. 26.

those devoted to learning. Bhoja II is said to have been a great patron of poets, like his predecessor of the same name.[1]

During the period under review, many educational institutions were established in Malwa for the cultural development of the people. The modern Kamalmaula mosque at DhârÂ, as we have already noticed, is believed to have been a school building erected by Bhoja. The tradition is strongly corroborated by the discovery of two charts on the walls of that building, which contain alphabets and rules of grammar.[2] They are very important, inasmuch as they give us an idea of the method of teaching that was pursued in those ancient days. The first is sketched out by the windings of a single serpent. On its body is engraved the Sanskrit alphabet in the NÂgarî characters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D. The tail contains the inflectional terminations of nouns and verbs. There are altogether fifty-three letters and symbols, and twenty-one nominal and eighteen verbal inflectional terminations in it.

The second chart is made up by the intertwining of two serpents. Its object is to record some chief rules of Sanskrit "KÂ-tantra" grammar. Personal terminations of ten tenses, moods and three numbers are described. There are also two sets of terminations, viz, Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, for each tense and mood.

Both these records were certainly set up there for the guidance of the pupils. A similar mode of teaching adopted all over the country, and charts of exactly the same type are also found in the temple of MahÂkÂla at Ujjain,[3] and in a fane at Un.[4] Through the strenuous

1 Hammîra-mahâkâvya, I. A., Vol VIII, p. 64
2 J Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, pp. 350-351.
3 Prog Report of the A. S., Western Circle, 1913, p. 55.
4 A. S. I., 1918-19, Part I, p. 17.

efforts of all these institutions, Malwa became a chief centre of cultural activities in India. In Saṃ. 1232 = 1175 A. D., Narapati composed a treatise on omens, entitled 'Narapati-jayacaryâ', in which he describes the country of Malwa as being the abode of learning, where, in the city of Dhârâ, Âmradeva, lived.[1] This atmosphere, creative of literary genius, invited many students from the neighbouring territories to migrate and settle there. Thus, under the benevolent care of the Paramâras, Malwa became the resort of the most renowned and brilliant scholars and literary men of the age. Of these, the earliest known was Dhanapâla, who flourished at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries A. D.

DHANAPÂLA

Sarvadeva, the father of Dhanapâla, migrated from Madhyadeśa, and settled in Ujjain. In fulfilment of his promise to the Jaina Vardhamâna, he asked his son to embrace the Jaina faith ; but Dhanapâla was averse to forsaking the Brahmanical religion, and this refusal to comply with his father's wishes completely dissociated him from his family. He migrated to Dhârâ, and there studied all branches of Brahmanic learning, but subsequently, through the influence of his younger brother, he became a follower of the Jaina faith.[2] He gained the favourable notice of king Bhoja, and rose to be one of his principal court poets. The Âîn-i-Akbarî relates[3]

1 Vidyâlaye Mâlava-saṃjña-deśe Dhârâ-purî-ramya-nivâsa-vâsî |
nânâgamajño nṛpa-loka-pûjyo nâmnÂmra-devo vibudhaḥ prasiddhaḥ ||
(Bhandarkar's Report, 1882-83, pp. 220 cc.)

2 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 54.

3 Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 216.

that of the five hundred poets of Bhoja's court, Barruj (Vararuci) was the foremost, and the next Dhanapâla. So far four books have been discovered from the pen of this writer. They are :

(a) Pâiyalacchî,[1]

(b) Ṛṣabhapañcâśikâ,

(c) Tilakamañjarî,[3]

(d) A Commentary on Śobhana's Caturviṃśikâ.[4]

The first of these works was composed in Saṃ. 1029=972 A. D., when Dhanapâla was residing at Dhârâ.[5] The book was composed for the poet's younger sister, Sundarî, whom Mr. Bühler is inclined to identify with the famous Avanti-Sundarî.[6] In conclusion the poet remarks[7] :—"Those words which, being rich in flavour, are commonly employed in poetry by poets, I have arranged here ; may they gladden the hearts of clever men." In the 'maṅgalâcaraṇa' of this book, Brahmâ and other deities of the Brahmanical religion are invoked. At the end of the third part, the name of the Tîrthaṃkara Mahâvîra-Jñâtiputra is mentioned.

The Ṛṣabhapañcâśikâ consists of fifty verses in honour of the first Tîrthaṃkara Ṛṣabha. In conclusion the poet invokes the great Jaina Tîrthaṃkara[8] :—"Thus praised with devotion by me, a man of small understanding only, whose Karma is consumed like fuel in the fire of meditation, mayest thou (O Ṛṣabha !), reward me by pure knowledge, (which is) a boat to cross the ocean of existence."

1 Edited by Bühler, Gottingen, 1879.
2 Ibid., p. 9.
3 Kâvyamâlâ Series, No. 85.
4 Bühler, Sc. akad, Wien, 99 (1882), pp. 570-572.
5 Pâiyalacchî, v. 277.
6 Ibid., p. 8.
7 Ibid., p. 6 ; p. 50, v. 270.
8 Ibid., p. 9.

This proves the truth of Merutuṅga's statement that Dhanapâla later on became a staunch follower of the Jaina religion.

In connection with the composition of the third book, Tilakamañjarî, Merutuṅga narrates an interesting story. Dhanapâla, he says, was absent from the royal court for a considerable time, and, on Bhoja's enquiring into the cause of this, the poet replied that he was busy writing the Tilakamañjarî, which had just been completed. The king was curious to read the book, and, when he had done so, he was much impressed by its merit, and asked the poet to make him the hero of the tale, changing the name of the country from Vinatâ to Avanti. But Dhanapâla refused to comply with the king's request, whereupon Bhoja became highly incensed, and burnt the entire manuscript. This gave a rude shock to the poet's feeling, and he became dejected and broken at the loss of his precious book. But, fortunately for him, his daughter Bâlapaṇḍitâ, was a woman of keen intelligence, and she remembered half the text of the book, and reproduced it in the original form. This, to a certain extent, consoled the heart of the poet, and, later on, she is said to have composed the remaining portion of the work.[1] We have no evidence to corroborate this story.

ŚOBHANA.

Śobhana, the younger brother of Dhanapâla, lived in Ujjain. His only known composition is the Caturviṃśikâstuti.[2]

DHANANJAYA.

Dhanañjaya, son of Viṣṇu, was one of the learned

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 60-61.

2 Text, edited by Jacobi, Z. D. M. G. 32 (1878), pp. 509-534.

scholars of the age. He was a poet in the court of Vâkpati-Muñja, and composed a masterly work on Hindu dramaturgy, named 'Daśarûpa',[1] in which he remarks that he developed his literary genius by discoursing with the sovereign lord Muñja.[2] The Saduktikarṇâmṛta, the anthology of Śrîdharadâsa, quotes a verse from it.[3]

DHANIKA.

Dhanika, son of Viṣṇu, was a brother of Dhanañjaya. He was originally an inhabitant of Ahicchatra, and settled in Mâlava before Saṃ. 1031=974 A. D.[4] He was connected with the administrative department of the Paramâra government. In one of his compositions he speaks of himself as a "mahâsâdhyapâla" of king Utpalarâja.[5] He cultivated the art of literature, in which he attained a high degree of perfection. He wrote a commentary in prose on Dhanañjaya's 'Daśarûpa' entitled Daśarûpâvaloka or Daśarûpâloka, which gives clear proof of his high intellectual and literary attainments. It appears to have been written in the early part of the eleventh century A. D., as it contains a passage from Padmagupta's Navasâhasâṅka-carita. One of the manuscripts, at the end of the first book, contains a verse

1 Edited by G. C. Haas, New York, Columbia University Press, 1910.

2 Viṣṇoḥ sutenâpi Dhanaṃjayena
Vidvan mano-râga-nibandha-hetuḥ
âviṣkṛtam Muñja-mahîsa-goṣṭhî
vaidagdhya-bhâjâ Daśarûpam etat ||
(V. 98, p. 848.)

3 Z. D. M. G. 36 (1892), pp. 533-34.

4 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 53.

5 Wilson, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, London, 1871, I, XX, XXI.

of four lines from Kṣemendra's Bṛhat-kathâmañjarî, which was composed about 1037 A. D. This seems to be a later interpolation. Dhanika also wrote a book entitled "Kâvyanirṇaya", which is not available now. The Daśarûpâvaloka contains seven verses from it, and twenty-four stanzas from his other compositions, written both in Prakrit and Sanskrit. Three of the twenty-four stanzas are also quoted under his name in the Śârṅgadharapaddhati.[1] Whilst composing his Daśarûpâvaloka, he consulted many books on Hindu dramas, and other poetical works by eminent authors. It will help us to form some idea as to the sort of books to be found in the literary stores of Malwa in this far-off period. They are as follows :—[2]

DRAMAS STILL EXTANT.

Mṛcchakaṭika
Śakuntalâ
Vikramorvaśî
Mâlavikâgnimitra
Ratnâvalî
Priyadarśikâ
Nâgânanda
Mahâvîra-carita
Uttara-Râma-carita
Mâlatimâdhava
Mudrârâkṣasa
Veṇîsaṃhâra
Karpûramañjarî
Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ
Anargharâghava
Mahânâṭaka.

1 Op. cit., 3973, 3417, 278.
2 Daśarûpa, ed. Haas, Introduction, pp. XXXVI, seq.

DRAMAS UNPUBLISHED OR NO LONGER EXTANT.

Udâttarâghava
Chalitarâma
Pâṇḍavânanda
Râmâbhyudaya
Taraṅgadatta
Puṣpadûṣitaka.

OTHER WORKS OF SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT LITERATURE.

Mahâbhârata
Râmâyaṇa
Meghadûta
Kumârasambhava
Raghuvaṃśa
Sṛṅgâratilaka
Kirâtârjunîya
Kâdambarî
Śiśupâlavadha
Bṛhatkathâ
Hâlasaptaśatî
Bhartṛhariśatakâni
Amaruśataka
Navasâhasâṅka-carita.

MINOR AND UNKNOWN AUTHORS OR WORKS.

Ânandavardhana
Vikaṭanitambâ (a poetess)
Vâkpatirâjadeva
Rudra
Dhanika
Bhaṭṭa Bâṇa's Mahâśvetâvarṇanâvasara.

TECHNICAL WORKS.

Bhâratiyanâṭyaśâstra
Kâmasûtra of Vâtsyâyana
Vâkyapadîya
Kâvyâlaṃkâra of Rudraṭa.

The voluminous references to authors and works, in his short commentary, prove fully the depth and extent of Dhanika's acquaintance with literature. He was greatly esteemed and honoured by his contemporaries for his vast learning, and left behind him a memory

that will last for ages to come. He is still cherished by lovers of literature, and is looked upon as one of the greatest poets that India has ever produced. A later writer, finding the Sanskrit language and literature in a most deplorable condition, lamented—

"Poetry of the school of Vidarbha was the sportive daughter of Vâlmîki, and, having been educated by Vyâsa, she chose Kâlidâsa for her bridegroom; she was the mother of Amara, Sundara and *Dhanika;* but now, old and decrepit, lacking ornaments, and her tender feet slipping as she walks, to whom has she not come for shelter?" [1]

PADMAGUPTA.

Padmagupta, whose other name was Parimala, was a court poet of both Vâkpati—Muñja and Sindhurâja, [2] He tells us that he followed the path laid down by the poets through the grace of Vâkpatirâja. He composed the book Navasâhasânka-carita, [3] it is said, at the order of the king Sindhurâja. In his work he mentions the

1 Vâlmîker-ajani prakâśita-guṇâ Vyâsena lîlâvatî
Vaidarbhî kavitâ svayaṃ vṛtavatî śrî-Kâlidâsaṃ varam ||
yâsût Âmarasiṃha-Mâgha-Dhanikân seyaṃ jarâ-ñîrasâ
śûṇyâlâṃkaraṇâ skhalan-mṛdu-padâ kaṃ vâ janaṃ nâśritâ ||
(J. R. A. S. (New Series), Vol. XV, p. 175.)

2 Sarasvatî-kalpa-lataika-kandaṃ
vandâmahe Vâkpatirâja-devam |
yasya prasâdâd vayam apyamutra
kavîndra-chîrṇe pathi saṃcarâmaḥ | V. 7.
divaṃ yiyâsur mama vâci mudrâm
adatta yâṃ Vâkpatirâja-devaḥ |
Tasyânujanmâ kavi-bândhavasya
bhinatti tâṃ samprati Sindhurâjaḥ || V. 8.
(Navas sarga I).

3 Navasâhasânka-carita, edited by Pandit Vamana Sastri Islampurkar, Bombay, 1895, Sanskrit Series, LIII.

names of KÂlidÂsa, GuṇÂḍya, the author of BṛhatkathÂ, BÂṇa and MayÛra. Verses from the NavasÂhasÂṅka-carita[1] are quoted in Vallabhadeva's SubhÂṣitÂvali,[2] Dhanika's DaśarÛpÂvaloka,[3] VardhamÂna's[4] Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, KÂvyaprakÂśa, and Jayaratha's AlaṃkÂravimarśinî.[5]

There can hardly be any doubt that Padmagupta produced many other literary works besides the NavasÂhasÂṅka carita. At the present time only a few of them are known to us.

Kṣemendra quotes five verses in his Suvṛttatilaka, which are extracts from the works of Parimala.[6] In the ŚÂrṅgadharapaddhati also a verse composed by Parimala is introduced.[7]

BHAṬṬA HALÂYUDHA.

Bhaṭṭa HalÂyudha was a renowned poet of that time. In his early years he was a court poet of the RÂṣṭrakÛṭa kings, at MÂnyakheṭa. He wrote his book Kavi-rahasya[8] in the middle of the tenth century A. D. at the court of the RÂṣṭrakÛṭa KṛṣṇarÂja III.[8] His earliest work, however, would appear to be one on lexicography, entitled "Abhidhâna-ratnamÂlÂ."[9] Later he migrated to

1 Peterson, No. 268.

2 II, 37.

3 P. 117, 7th edition, Eggeling.

4 KÂvya-prakÂśa, Calcutta, 1866, pp. 323, 337.

5 Deccan College MSS., No. 23, fol. 166b.

6 SubhÂṣitÂvali, Peterson, pp. 51-52; J. Bo. Br., Vol. XVI, pp. 173 sqq.

7 SubhÂṣitÂvali, p. 52.

8 Published by Heller, HalÂyudha's Kavi-rahasyam in beiden Recensionen herausgegeben, Greifswald, 1900.

9 cf. Zachariæ, "Die indischen Worterbucher (Kosa)", in Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie, I, b, p. 26. (Strassburg, 1897). The text by Aufrecht, London, 1861.

Mâlava, and lived in Dhârâ, at the court of Muñja. He prepared his "Mṛtasaṃjîvanî" a commentary on the "Piṅgala-chandaḥsûtra", about this time, and speaks highly of the king's liberality. [1]

AMITAGATI.

Amitagati was the disciple of Mâdhavasena, whose preceptor was Nemiṣena, the head of the Jaina ascetics of the Mâthurasaṃgha. [2] He was a scholar of great fame, and flourished in Mâlava at the end of the tenth century A. D. and the beginning of the eleventh. He completed his work, "Subhâṣita-ratna-saṃdoha", [3] in Saṃ. 1050 = 993 A. D., when the king Muñja was ruling. His other books are :

(a) Śrâvakâcâra [4]
(b) Dharmaparîkṣâ [5]
(c) Dvâtriṃśatikâ. [6]

The Dharmaparîkṣâ was composed in Saṃ 1070 = 1013 A. D.

1 Sa jayati Vâkpati-râjaḥ sakalârthi-manorathaika-kalpa-taruḥ ।
Pratyarthi-bhûta-pârthiva-lakṣmî-haṭha-haraṇa-durlalitaḥ ॥
Edited by Visvanatha Sâstrî, Calcutta, 1874, (Bibl. Ind.) and by Kedaranatha and Panashikar, Bombay, 1908, (Kâvyamâlâ Series, No. 91)

2 Subhâṣita-ratna-saṃdoha, Kâvyamâlâ series, No. 82.

3 Samârûḍhe pûta-tridaśa-vasatiṃ Vikrama-nṛpe sahasre varṣâṇâṃ prabhavati hi pañcâśad-adhike । samâptaṃ pañcamyâm avati dharaṇîṃ Muñja-nṛpatau site pakṣe Pauṣe budha-hitam idaṃ śâstram anagham ॥ (I. A., XIX. p. 361 ; Hertel, W. Z. K. M. 17, 105-134. The text published in Z. D. M. G., Vols. 59 & 61 ; ibid.

4 Ed. by R. Barjatya, Bombay, 1922.

5 Mironow, Die Dharmaparîkṣâ des Amitagati, Leipzig 1903, (dissertation).

6 Ed. by S. Brahmacari, Bombay, 1922.

UVAṬA.

Uvaṭa, or Uaṭa, was the son of Vajraṭa, a resident of Ânandapura, the modern Vadnagar, in Gujarat. He settled in Avanti in the first half of the eleventh century A. D., and devoted his time to literary studies. He composed his book "Mantrabhâṣya", a commentary on the Vâjasaneya Saṃhitâ, during the reign of Bhoja.[1] He has written a commentary on Ṛgveda-pratiśâkhya, and he is known as the author of Nigama-bhâṣya, a commentary on Yajurveda.[2]

SÎTÂ.

Sîtâ was an eminent poetess, who flourished during the reign of Bhoja.[3] Merutuṅga says that she was at first employed as a cook at Dhârâ, and that, during this period in her career, a pilgrim, staying in her house, died from taking kanguni oil (aniseed). This so alarmed her, lest she should be charged with his murder, that she tried to commit suicide by taking a dose of the same emetic. But, instead of dying, she found herself thereby endowed with a brilliant intellect, and thereupon she set to work to study the three Vedas, Raghuvaṃśa, the Kâmaśâstra of Vâtsyâyana, and Câṇakya's treatise on polity. Having thus become accomplished in various arts, she went to the court of Bhoja with her daughter Vijayâ, where she gave proof of her supreme literary merit in the royal assembly, and was highly appreciated by the king. Merutuṅga's report appears to be clothed with fiction.

Padmagupta also refers to a poetess Sîtâ, who is said to have composed songs eulogising the deeds of Upendra,

1 Bhandarkar's Report, 1882-83, pp. 2-3.
2 Peterson's 4th Report. Introduction p. 17.
3 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 63-64.

the founder of the Paramâra dynasty in Mâlava.[1] The two ladies would seem to be identical.

BILHAṆA.

Bilhaṇa, the Minister of Peace and War under king Vindhyavarman, was famous for his learning. Âśâdhara describes him as the lord of poets,[2] but none of his work is known to us.

ÂŚÂDHARA.

This great Jaina scholar flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century A. D.[3] He was the son of Sallakṣaṇa, a member of the Vyâghreravâla family, and was born in the fortress of Maṇḍalakara, situated in Sapâdalakṣa. His mother's name was Ratnî. Sarasvatî was his wife, and she gave birth to his son, Chahaḍa. When Sapâdalakṣa was conquered by Shihâb-ud-dîn Muḥammad Ghorî in 1192 A. D., Âśâdhara, for fear of being molested by the conquering armies, left his native country, and migrated with his family to Mâlava. He was a contemporary of the kings Vindhyavarman, Arjunavarman, Devapâla, and Jaitugideva. The town of Nalakacchapura was the chief centre of his activities as a writer and as a teacher, and it was through his learned instruction that several great scholars of high merit were produced at that period. Devacandra studied grammar under him ; Vîśâlakîrti attained a mastery over "Tarkaśâstra", sitting at his holy feet ; Vinayacandra became well-versed in the doctrine of the Jainas under his careful supervision ; and he taught Madana the art of poetry.[4]

1 Navasâhasâṅka-carita, Sarga XI, v. 77.

2 Âśâdhara's Dharmâmṛta, Grantha-praśasti, vs. 6-7.

3 Ibid.

4 Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1883-84, p. 104.

A large number of books, poems and commentaries are attributable to him, of which the following are known to us to-day :[1]

Name of Work.	Description.
(a) Prameyaratnâkara	A metaphysical treatise on Syâdvâda.
(b) Bharateśvarâbhyudaya with a gloss	A poem.
(c) Dharmâmṛta with a gloss entitled Jñânadîpikâ	The Essence of the teaching of the Arhat.
(d) Râjîmatîvipralambha with a gloss	A small poem on Nemi.
(e) Adhyâtmarahasya	A treatise, useful to those practising 'Yoga'.
(f) Glosses on the Mûlârâdhanâ, Caturviṃśatistava etc.,	
(g) Kriyâkalâpa	From the Amarakośa.
(h) A Commentary on Rudraṭa's Kâvyâlaṃkâra.	
(i) Sahasranâmastavana of the Arhats with a gloss.	
(j) Jinayâjñakalpa	With a gloss entitled Jinayâjñakalpadîpikâ.
(k) Triṣaṣṭismṛti	Containing stories about the sixty-three persons, abridged from sacred Mahâpurâṇas with a commentary.
(l) Nityamahoddyota	Describing the manner of washing the immage of the Jinas and worshipping of them.

1 Ibid.

NAME OF WORK.	DESCRIPTION
(m) Ratnatrayavidhâna	Explaining the importance of the Worship.
(n) Aṣṭâṅgahṛdayoddyota	Written to render the Vâgbhaṭa-saṃhitâ plain and easy.
(o) Bhavyakumudacandrikâ	A commentary on a particular topic of Dharmâ-mṛta, treating of the duties of the Yatis or monks.

Of these works, Triṣaṣṭismṛti is described as having been written in Sam 1292=1235 A. D., during the reign of Devapâla, and Bhavyakumudacandrikâ was completed in Sam. 1300=1243 A. D., when Jaitugideva was on the throne of Malwa. Âśâdhara furnishes us with a short account of what inspired him to the composition of the latter work.[1]

In the city of Nalakacchapura, he says, there was a personage named Pâpa, an influential and well-to-do citizen, belonging to the Khaṅkhilya family, who was a devoted adherent of the Jaina faith. He had two sons, Bahudeva and Padmasiṃha. Bahudeva's three sons were Haradeva, Udayin and Stambhadeva. Haradeva told Äśâdhara that a commentary on the duties of laymen, as laid down in the Dharmâmṛta, had been written by Mahîcandra, the Sâdhu, and that there was a need for similar work on the duties of the Yatis, which was the most difficult portion of the book. He requested Âśâdhara to undertake this commentary, and the latter eagerly complied, with the result that "Bhavyakumuda-candrikâ" was produced.

Aśâdhara was an eminent man of letters. His

1 Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, pp. 104-105.

contributions to the literature of the country were obviously of great service to the progress of its civilisation.

MADANA.

Madana was born of a family of Gauḍa, and was a descendant of Gaṇgâdhara.[1] In his early years he learnt the art of poetry from Âśâdhara,[2] and obtained the title of "Bâlasarasvatî", in recognition of his poetic genius,[3] rising to the position of royal preceptor[4] during the reign of Arjunavarman. His facile pen also produced the drama of "Pârijâta-mañjarî" or, as it is sometimes called, "Vijayaśrî", commemorating the victory of Arjunavarman over the Gujarat king, Jayasiṃha.[5] In his commentary on Amaruśataka, Arjunavarman quotes one of Madana's verses in Śardûlavikṛḍita, and ascribes to him the authorship of an Âryâ and two Anuṣṭubha verses.[6] Three inscriptions of the reign of Arjunavarman, which have been noticed above, were also composed by him.[7]

DEVENDRA.

The Jaina teacher Devendra, the disciple of Jagaccandra, lived at Ujjain, and converted Vîradhavala and Bhîmasiṃha into his own faith in Sam. 1323=1266 A.D.

1 Gauḍânvaya–Gaṅgâ–pulina–râ(ja-haṃ)sasya (Gaṃgâdha)-râyaṇe (r Madanasya râ)ja-guroḥ......(E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 101-2.)

2 Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS, 1883-84, p. 104.

3 Ibid.

4 J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII. p. 33.

5 E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 101 seq.

6 Commentary on Amaruśataka, pp. 15, 16, and 44.

7 Vide ante, p. 201.

He died in Mâlava in Saṃ. 1327=1270 A. D. The following works were produced by him : [1]

(a) Śrâddha dina kṛtya. [2]

(b) Karma-grantha (a treatise in Prakrit ârya verse on the Jaina theory of the future influence of arts).

(c) Siddha-pañcâśikâ (50 Prakrit ârya verses on the beings who attain spiritual beatification, said to be excerpted from the Siddha-pâhuḍa (Prâbhṛta).

(c) Dharmaratnavṛtti.

(c) Sudarśanâ-caritra.

(f) Caitya-vandana-bhâṣya, Guru-vandana bhâṣya and Pratyâkhyâna-bhâṣya.

(g) Siri Usaha Vaddhamâṇaprabhṛtistavâdayaḥ.

(h) Siddha-daṇḍikâ-stava (on the apotheosis of the kings of Trikhaṇḍa, of family of Nâbhi), Śrâvaka-dinakṛtya.

DHARMAGHOSA.

Devendra's successor in the "Sûripada" was Vidyânanda, who was followed by Dharmaghoṣa. This last mentioned teacher died in Saṃ. 1357=1300 A. D His works include the following : [3]

(a) Saṃghâcârâkhyâ bhâṣyavṛtti,

(b) Sudhammetistava,

(c) Kâyasthitibhavasthitistavau,

(c) Caturviṃśati-jinastavâḥ,

(e) Śastâśarmety-âdistotram,

(f) Devendrairanisam iti śleṣastotram,

(g) Yûyaṃ yuvâtvam iti śleṣastutayaḥ,

1 I. A., Vol. XI, p. 255.

2 Peterson's 4th Report, Intro. p. 57.

3 Ibid, p. 64. I. A., Vol. XI, p. 255.

(h) Yamakastuti,
(i) Śatapadîka or Praśnottara paddhatiḥ,
(j) Kâla-saptatiḥ.

The above category includes all that are known of the most renowned poets and authors who flourished in Malwa during the period under discussion. A short review of what has been said makes it cleâr that, from every angle, the civilisation of Malwa, during the happy rule of the Paramâras, rose to a very magnificent position. Politically, the dynasty achieved great and glorious success. Architecture reached a high pitch of excellence, and the temples of Udayapur and of Un rank high among the best specimens of ancient Indian architectural remains. But above all else, Malwa can claim the highest credit for her rich contributions to the stock of Sanskrit literature. In those ancient days, few provinces of India witnessed the birth of so many literary magnates, within so short a period, as did Malwa during the reign of the Paramâra dynasty. The literature of a country is admittedly the crucial test of its culture, and Malwa, through her possession of so valuable, varied and rich a literature, has proved her high achievement in that direction. At the back of all these constructive movements were the Paramâra kings. Their unstinted liberality, never failing encouragement and generous sympathy always served as a driving force towards the progressive realisation of an ideal State.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ABU BRANCH OF THE PARAMÂRA DYNASTY.

In the first chapter of this book we have discussed at some length the question as to the origin of the junior lines of the Paramâra princes. There, we have noticed that Vâkpati-Muñja established three new settlements at Jalor, Bhinmal and Mount Abu, to which he appointed the princes of his family as governors. Among all these minor families, the Paramâras of Abu deserve our first and foremost consideration for their significant political achievements. The following pages, therefore, will be devoted to recording their history and culture.

The territory over which this Abu branch held sway was known as Arbuda-maṇḍala.[1] It extended at least as far as Delwara on the east, Palanpur on the south, and the Godwar District on the north.[3] It was bounded on the west by the territories of the Paramâras of Bhinmal. The seat of government was fixed at Candrâvatî,[4] situated on the bank of the Banas, near the south-east border of the Sirohi State, in Rajputana. The city is now in complete ruins.

Our information regarding the early history of the family is very meagre. Araṇyarâja, son of Utpala, was the first prince of the line to enjoy the sovereignty of this territory. He was succeeded by Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarâja, a prince of great renown. Hemacandra's Dvyâśraya-

1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 13.
2 Pârtha-parâkrama, II, (Gaekwad's Orienial Series, No. 4.),
3 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 75.
4 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 155, v. 5.

mahâkâvya [1] narrates that the Caulukya Mûlarâja (941-997 A. D.) of Gujarat, was assisted by the Râja of Arbuda in his war against Graharipu, chief of Saurâṣṭra. Kṛṣṇarâja or his father Araṇyarâja might have been the prince of Abu referred to above. The Vasantgadh inscription of Pûrṇapâla was examined by both Captain Burt and Pandit Kamalakanta, some time before 1841 A. D. Both of them found a name, Śrînâthaghosî, mentioned in the record, as that of the successor of Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarâja. [2] Since then, the stone inscription was lost sight of for a time, but, subsequently, Rai Bahadur G. H Ojha succeeded in recovering it. Professor Kielhorn, while re-editing it from a fresh impression, found that the name Śrînâthaghosî had totally disappeared from the place where it was supposed to have existed. [3]

DHANDHUKA.

The next ruler of this family was Mahîpâla, whose successor was Dhandhuka. Dhandhuka was a contemporary of the king Bhoja of Malwa, during whose reign the enmity between the house of Anhilwar and that of Dhârâ became very acute. As soon as the wave of Maḥmûd's invasion had passed away, Bhîma I of Gujarat succeeded in restoring his kingdom to a state of normal order. About this time he seems to have turned his arms against the Paramâras of Abu, and to have demanded the submission of their ruler Dhandhuka. But Dhandhuka refused to bow down before the authority of the Caulukyas, and, being unable to with-

1 5th Sarga, v. 37.
2 J. A. S. B., Vol. X, pp. 667, 670-71.
3 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 56.

stand their attack, took refuge with Bhoja of Dhârâ.[1] After this, Bhîma easily conquered Arbuda-maṇḍala and appointed Vimala, of the Prâgvâṭavaṃśa, to govern it on his behalf.[2] In the year Saṃ 1088 = 1031 A. D., during his viceroyalty, Vimala built a magnificent temple of Âdinâtha on the Mount Abu.[3]

PŪRṆAPÂLA.

Bhîma, however, could not long maintain his authority over Abu. Dhandhuka's son and successor, Pûrṇapâla, probably with the assistance of Bhoja, succeeded in establishing his authority over his paternal territory. He is described as ruling over Arbuda-maṇḍala, having conquered his enemy.[4] Amṛtadevî was the name of Dhandhuka's queen, who was the mother of Pûrṇapâla and Lâhiṇî Devî.[5] Lâhiṇî was married to

1 Caṃdrâvatîpurîśaḥ samajani vîrâgraṇî(r) Dha(ṃ)dhuḥ ‖
Śrî-Bhîmadevasya nṛpaśa(sya) sevâm amanya (m) ânaḥ kila Dhaṃdhurâjaḥ ।
nareśa-roṣâc ca tato manaśvî(svî) Dhârâdhipaṃ Bhojanṛpaṃ prapede ‖ 6
(Mount Abu Vimala temple inscriptions, E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 155-156.)

2 Tava(ta)ś ca Bhîmena narâdhipena sa pratâpa-bhûrmi-(mi)r Vimalo mahâmatiḥ ।
kva(kṛ)t O'(r)bude daṃḍapatiḥ satâṃ priyaḥ priyaṃvado naṃdatu Jaina-śâsane ‖ 8
(Mount Abu Vimala temple inscription, E. I., Vol. IX, p. 156.)

3 Mount Abu Vimala temple inscription, E. I., IX, p. 156.

4 Utpaṃnam asyâsuvi Pûrṇṇapâlaḥ pûrṇṇâm imâṃ pâlaya - v - II - v - (ro 'p)i vijitya śattrûṃ(n) śaśâsa bhûmaṃḍalam Arbudasya ‖ 8
(Vasantgadh inscription, E. I., Vol. IX, p. 13.)

5 Ibid., v. II.

Vigraharâja, son of Caca and grandson of Durlabharâja, the ruler of Badarî in Vaṃśaratha. Saṃgamarâja was the name of Durlabha's father. He was born of the lineage of Bhavagupta, the ruler of Vaṭa. Bhavagupta was a descendant of Yoṭa, who was the founder of this royal line.[1]

The exact date of Pûrṇapâla's accession cannot be ascertained. Two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered. The earliest of them was found in a tank at Vasantgadh, in the Sirohi State, Rajputana.[2] It records that Lâhiṇî, the sister of Pûrṇapâla, on the sudden demise of her husband Vigraharâja, changed her residence to Vaṭa or Vaṭapura, on the banks of the Sarasvatî, and lived there under her brother's protection. She restored an ancient temple of the sun (Bhânu) in that locality, and excavated there a tank in Saṃ 1099= 1042 A. D. The inscription was composed by the Brahman Mâtṛśarman, son of Hari. It was engraved by Śivapâla, son of the architect (sûtradhâra) Deuka and the grandson of Durga. Nâga, a sthapati (carpenter), was the father of Durga.

The Sarasvatî is evidently the modern river of the same name, which, taking its rise from Mount Abu, passes through Gujarat. The tank in which the stone was found is, in all probability, the one referred to in the inscription. If this be the case, then Vaṭapura is to be identified with Vasantgadh.

The second inscription[3] was found on a step-well in the village of Bharund, in the Godwar District of the Jodhpur State. Its object is to record the construction of a step-well, in Saṃ 1102—1045 A. D., in the village

1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 13, verses 11-15.
2 Ibid., p. 11.
3 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 78.

of Bhuṃdipadra, when Mahârâjâdhirâja Pûrṇapâla was ruling the country. The expenses of its foundation were borne by a number of Brahmans of that village. The names of the architects are given as Dhâreśvara, Deua, Devau and Lahampaśra.

Bhuṃdipadra, here mentioned, is evidently the same as the village of Bharund where the inscription was discovered. The assumption of the title 'Mahârâjâdhirâja' by the king shows that he ruled his territory independently of foreign control.

After the termination of the reign of Pûrṇapâla we are in the dark about the history of this family for nearly a century.[1] It does not seem to have suffered any break in the continuity of its rule during this period. Dhûmarâja and Dhruvabhaṭa, as mentioned in the later records, were probably among those who ruled in succession after Pûrṇapâla. The death of Bhoja about 1055 A. D. deprived the Abu princes of a strong supporter against the incursions of the Caulukyas. In the latter part of the sixth decade of the eleventh century A. D, when the Paramâra government was passing through a period of stress and strain, king Bhîma again raised his sword against the territory of Abu. He conquered the province, but seems to have allowed the Paramâra princes to rule it as his vassals. After that, Mount Abu remained a part of the Caulukya empire till the end of the thirteenth century A. D. An inscription[2] of the reign of Bhîma, dated Saṃ. 1119—1062 A. D., was

1 Dr. Bhandarkar thinks (E. I., Vol. XI, p. 68). that Kṛṣṇarâja of the Bhinmal inscription was the successor of Pûrṇapâla. There is no evidence to prove it. Kṛṣṇarâja's grandfather was Devarâja, while the name of Pûrṇapâla's grandfather was Mahîpâla. Vide post.

2 No. 1780 of Mr. Cousen's list; E. I., Vol. IX., p. 148.

discovered in the wall of the Mount Abu Vimala temple. It was issued by the king's minister.

VIKRAMASIMHA.

In the second quarter of the twelfth century A. D., the Paramâra Râmadeva is found to have been ruling over Mount Abu. He was succeeded by his brother Vikramasiṃha, who was a feudatory of the Caulukya Kumârapâla. While advancing with his armies against the Câhamânas of Ajmer in 1145 A. D., Kumârapâla halted in Mount Abu, and met Vikramasiṃha, who accorded him a hearty welcome.[1] But shortly afterwards, when the Gujarat armies were fighting in Marwar, Paramâra prince revolted and probably joined forces with the advancing armies of king Ballâḷa of Ujjain. Hemacandra does not mention the name of Vikramasiṃha, but relates that the two feudatories Vijaya and Kṛṣṇa, whom Kumârapâla despatched against Ballâḷa, while he himself was advancing against Âna, had gone over to the king of Ujjain.[2] Vikramasiṃha had however to pay the penalty of his treachery by losing his throne. Jinamaṇḍana's Kumârapâlaprabandha states that[3] Kumârapâla defeated Vikramasiṃha in battle, cast him into prison for his evil-doing, and established in his place his nephew Yaśodhavala on the throne of Mount Abu.

1 Dvyâsraya, 19th Sarga, v. 34.

2 Ibid., v. 98.

3 Tataḥ sarvâvasare taṃ Vikramasiṃham âkârya dvâsaptati sâmanta-samakṣaṃ.
hakkayitvâ mallaiḥ sajjîkṛtya kârâgâre nikṣiptavân ।
tad-râjyâdhipaṃ tasya bhrâtṛvyaṃ Yaśodhavala-nâmânaṃ kṛtavâmś ca । (p. 42).

YAŚODHAVALA.

Two inscriptions of Yaśodhavala's reign have been discovered. The earlier one is dated Saṃ. 1202, Mâgha Sudi 14 = February 1145 A. D., and is in a fragmentary state.[1] Its object is to record that the queen Saubhâgyadevî of the Caulukya family, during the reign of the Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Yaśodhavala, made certain grants at the village of Ajâharî. It was engraved by the Sûtradhâra Câhaḍadeva.

The second inscription[2] was found in the Acaleśvara temple at Mount Abu. It is dated Saṃ. 1207 = 1150 A.D., and describes Yaśodhavala as a Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara. Yaśodhavala, who owed his throne to Kumârapâla, proved his fidelity to the latter by fighting on his side against the Malwa armies. Kumârapâla, immediately on his return from the battlefield of Ajmer, was informed that Ballâḷa had already penetrated into the heart of Gujarat and had directed the course of his army towards Anhilwar. He at once sent for a contingent and offered a terrible opposition to his enemy, and Ballâḷa was defeated and killed.[3] On this occasion, Yaśodhavala rendered great service to his overlord, and claims to have killed the Malwa king. The Mount Abu inscription, at the temple of Neminâtha, relates that[4] Yaśodhavala quickly slew Ballâḷa, the king of Mâlava, when he

1 I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 12.

2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 149.

3 Dvyâśraya, 19th Sarga.

4 Rodaḥ-kaṃdaravartti-kîrtti-laharî-liptâmṛtâṃśu-dyuter
apradyumna-vaśo Yaśodhavala ity âsît tanûjas tataḥ ।
Yaś Caulukya-Kumârapâla-nṛpati-pratyarthitâm âgataṃ
matvâ satvaram eva Mâlava-patiṃ Ballâlam âlabdhavân ॥
(v. 35).
(E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 210-211; Vide ante, p. 172).

learnt that the latter had become hostile to the Caulukya Kumārapāla. He ended his reign some time before 1163 A. D., the earliest known date of his son and successor, Dhārāvarṣa.

DHĀRĀVARṢA.

Dhārāvarṣa was a famous ruler, and occupied the throne of Abu for a great number of years. Many inscriptions belonging to his reign have been discovered.

(a) A stone inscription,[1] found in a shed near a temple at Kayadra, Sirohi States, records that on Saturday, the 15th half of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha, Saṃ. 1220 = May, 1163 A. D., Mahārājādhirāja Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Dhārāvarṣadeva granted a remission of taxes on the village of Phulahalī, belonging to Bhaṭṭāraka Deveśvara, of the temple of Kāseśvara. The royal order was executed by the prince (Pālhaṇadeva). The inscription also contains details of some other grants. Bāla Kelhaṇa made some donations, the nature of which is not very clear. Amātya Śivasiṃha, an inhabitant of the village of Vāsaṇa, granted a field. The witnesses of the record were Vijayarāja, son of Vāhaḍa, and Dedā, son of Dejaā. The villages Phulahalī and Vāsaṇa cannot be identified.

(b) The second inscription[2] was found in the village of Hathar, about three miles north-west of Mount Abu. It is dated Saṃ 1237 = 1180 A. D, and records that, in the victorious reign of Dhārāvarṣa, the lord of Arbuda, the minister Kovidāsa granted some pasture-lands of the villages of Sāhilavāḍā, Māgavāḍī and Hāthaḍālī and two ploughs of land in the village of

1 I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
2 Ibid, Vol. XLIII, p. 193.

Kumbhâranuli, to Bhaṭṭâraka Vîsala Ugradamaka, a teacher of Śivadharma. The occasion for making this donation was the "Devotthâna ekâdaśî". Of the localities, Hâthaḍalî is evidently the modern Hathar, where the inscription was found.

(c) The third inscription [1] was discovered at Ajari. It states that on Monday, Vaiśâkha Sudi 3, Saṃ 1240 = 1183 A. D., in the victorious reign of Dhârâvarṣa, the ruler of Candrâvatî, the wife of the prince Prahlâdana granted a certain piece of land to Arhat Jagadeva, while she was residing in the village of Âjâharî. The village mentioned corresponds to the modern Ajari, where the record was discovered.

(d) The fourth inscription [2] was found in the Madhusûdana temple near Mungthâla, at Mount Abu. It contains the date Saṃ 1245 = 1188 A. D., and does not report anything of great interest.

(e) The fifth inscription [3] was discovered on Mount Abu, and contains the date Saṃ. 1265 = 1208 A. D. At that time Dhârâvarṣa, the lord of Candrâvatî, was ruling the province under his overlord the Caulukya Bhîma II. The prince Prahlâdana is described as the heir apparent of Dhârâvarṣa. The author of the record is Kedâramiśra, the head of Śaiva monastery at Ujjain Its object is to record some architectural works executed by Kedâramiśra and his sister Mokṣeśvarî.

(f) The sixth inscription, [4] dated Saṃ. 1271, Asîja (Âśvina) Sudi 4 = October, 1214, A. D., records that the Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Dhârâvarṣadeva granted one halavâha of land in the village of Savaḍa Vṛddha, to a merchant named Ampa.

1 Pârtha-parâkrama, by Prahlâdana, App. II.
2 A. S. I., 1906-7, p. 209.
3 I. A., Vol. IX, p. 221 ; vide post.
4 Ibid, Vol. LVI, p. 51.

(g) The seventh inscription[1] was found broken in a temple of Śiva. It reports that, during the victorious reign of Dhârâvarṣa, son of Yaśodhavala and a descendant of Dhumarâja, certain persons, viz. Râṇâ Vaija, son of Vijaisi, and Lasamsîha, Kamaṇa, Śobhâ etc., sons of Râṭhauda Âna, of the family of the Hathundi Râjputs, took a vow of observing festivity for two days commencing with the day of Mahârâtri (Śivarâtri). The inscription was issued in Saṃ. 1274, between Mâgha and Phâlguna=January 1217 A. D., on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Dhârâsvarṣa was a great warrior, and was renowned for his skill in archery. On one occasion he succeeded in piercing three buffaloes with a single shot of an arrow.[2] In order to celebrate this achievement, a statue of him was erected on the edge of the Mandakini tank, outside the temple of Acaleśvara on Mount Abu, with bow in his hand and three buffaloes standing in front, with their bellies pierced through. This statue still exists in perfect condition. Kovidâsa was the minister of the king's government.[3]

WAR WITH KONKAN.

Dhârâvarṣa was contemporary of the Gujarat kings, Kumârapâla, Ajayapâla, Mûlarâja II, and Bhîma II. It appears from his inscription, dated 1162 A. D., in which he assumes the titles of both Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara and Mahârâjâdhirâja, that, by that time he had attained to the position of a semi-independent chief. In the early and latter part of his reign, his relations with the Gujarat sovereignty were friendly. He rendered invaluable assistance to them in their times of stress.

1 I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
2 Pâṭanârâyaṇa inscription, I. A., Vol. XLV, p. 78.
3 Ibid, Vol XLIII, p. 193.

It has been seen above that Yaśodhavala offered his services to the Caulukyas in their war against the Mâlava king. Now Dhârâvarṣa followed the army of Kumârapâla in its march upon Konkan. Merutuṅga narrates that upon one occasion, when Kumârapâla was giving a general audience to the people, he heard a bard using the great honorific epithet of Râjapitâmaha (grandfather of kings) in connection with the name of Mallikârjuna, the king of Konkan (A. D. 1156-1160). This greatly affected his kingly pride. The minister, Ambaḍa, who understood the king's feelings at the moment, volunteered to lead an army to Konkan to humble the pride of its ruler. Kumârapâla highly appreciated the offer, and made Âmbaḍa commander-in-chief of the army for that particular occasion. Almost all the eminent chieftains of the empire were sent to assist Âmbaḍa in his operations, and after a long and weary march he reached the enemy's country. While he was crossing the strong tide of the river Kalavini, Mallikârjuna fell upon him and completely wrecked his forces. He returned to Gujarat broken-hearted, with his pride in the dust. But Kumârapâla did not lose faith in his valour, and sent him back with a fresh army to renew operations. On this occasion, Âmbaḍa took great precautions in crossing the aforesaid river. He built a bridge over it, and successfully transported all his armies and landed them safely on the other side. Mallikârjuna opposed him with his might, but this time he was defeated and killed, and his capital was plundered. Âmbaḍa returned to Anhilwar with a load of treasure, and presented Kumârapâla with the head of the defeated king[1]. Someśvara's Kîrtikaumudî[2] and

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 122-123; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part I, p. 185 ff.

2 Sarga II, vv. 47-48.

Arisiṃha's Sukṛtasaṃkîrttana [1] also record KumârapÂla's victory over the Konkan king Hence the general outline of Merutuṅga's report may be accepted as true.

DhÂrâvarṣa seems to have been one of those chieftains, whose salutary support unquestionably enabled Âmbaḍa to gain so signal a victory. The Mount Abu inscription at the temple of Neminâtha, relates that [2]—"When DhÂrâvarṣa, inflamed with anger, held his ground on the battle-field, the wives of the lord of Koṅkaṇa shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes." Dhârâvarṣa, in all probability, fought this battle on behalf of his overlord, the Caulukya KumârapÂla.

WAR WITH THE CÂHAMÂNAS OF AJMER.

Arṇorâja, the Câhamâna king of Ajmer, sustained a heavy defeat at the hand of Kumârapâla, in 1159 A. D. His son Vigraharâja (1153—1164 A. D.) paid off these old scores against the Caulukyas by ravaging the northern territories of the Gujarat empire [3]. This led Kumârapâla's successor, Ajayapâla, to renew hostilities against Ajmer. He is said to have succeeded in subordinating its king to himself as tributary [4]. But as soon as Bhîma II ascended the throne of Anhilwar in 1178 A. D., the hostile relations between himself and the house of Ajmer were resumed. The young Caulukya king is said to have wanted to marry the daughter of the Paramâra Jayatasiṃha, ruler of Bhinmal. But unfortunately for his desire, the princess was already

1 Sarga II, v. 43.

2 Krodhâkrâṃta-pradhana-vasudhâ-niścale yatra jâtâś cyotan-netrotpala-jala-kaṇâḥ Kaṃkaṇâdhîśa-patnyaḥ ॥ (v. 36.) (E. I., Vol. VIII, p 211.)

3 J. S. B., Vol LV, p. 41.

4 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 195.

betrothed to the Câhamâna Pṛthvîrâja III of Ajmer.[1] This led to war between the Caulukyas and the Câhamânas, in which the king of the latter, Someśvara,[2] was killed.[3]. Pṛthvîrâja III (1179-1193 A. D.), immediately after his accessions, led and army against Gujarat. As on previous occassions, Dhârâvarṣa once again proved his fidelity to his overlord by lending him assistance. He offered a strong resistance to the enemy. The Pârtha-parâkrama of Prahlâdana credits him for repulsing a nocturnal attack by Pṛthvîrâja, the king of Jâṅgala (Ajmer).[4] We are told that Bhîma II suffered a terrible defeat at the hand of the Câhamâna king in this warfare.[5]

WAR WITH THE GUHILAS OF MEWAR.

As we have already seen in a previous chapter, the Gujarat empire began to degenerate after the death of Kumârapâla. Malwa was reconquered by the Paramâra Vindhyavarman, and the Câhamânas of Śâkambharî

1 Vide post.

2 Someśvara's inscriptions are dated A. D. 1170, 1177. J. R, A. S., 1913, pp. 266, 268 footnote 14.

3 Vide post.

4 Kim aṅga ! Jâṅgala-pateḥ sauptika-prastâvopaślokam anâkarṇitavân bhavân ?
yasyâdyâpi yaśaḥ śilîmukha-mukhotkîrṇaiḥ prasasty-akṣaraiḥ
svaḥ-strîṇâṃ divi nâyaka-sabhâ-stambhena samsmâryate ।
sehe so'pi na saptikaṃ vinipated-drauṇested aty-Arjunaṃ
Dhârâvarṣa tavâdya pauruṣam abhût tîrṇopamânam bhuvi ॥
(Here in line 3 the metre is wrong)

(Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. IV. p. 3.) The MSS. of the Limbdi's Pâdâ mentions the name of the Jâṅgala king as Pṛthvîrâja.

5 Vibe post.

declared open hostility against its rulers. But its most formidable enemy was the Guhila Sâmantasiṃha, whose two known dates are A. D. 1172 and 1179.[1] He invaded Gujarat, which appears to have been at that time under the rule of Ajayapâla (1172-1176 A. D.). Ajayapâla sustained a severe defeat and received a serious wound on the battle-field. Someśvara[2] tells us that his predecessor, Kumâra, having worshipped the god Kaṭukeśvara, cured Ajayapâla of his wounds. In those perilous hours Dhârâvarṣa adhered faithfully to the Gujarat dynasty, and sent his younger brother, Prahlâdana, with a strong force to the assistance of Ajayapâla. The Mount Abu inscription tells us that[3] "Prahlâdana, whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gurjara king, when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sâmantasiṃha, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of Danu."

The Gurjara king, here referred to, was, apparently, Ajayapâla, and Sâmantasiṃha was, in all probability, the Guhila king of that name. No doubt can be entertained that the timely help of the Paramâras of Abu saved the Caulukya sovereignty on that occasion, from ruin.

DHÂRÂVARṢA'S REVOLT AGAINST THE GUJARAT SOVEREIGNTY.

Ajayapâla and Mûlarâja II did not rule long. During the early years of Bhîma II, as we have often noticed, the Gujarat sovereignty was overcome by a

1 Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, 1914-15, p. 3.
2 Surathotsava, Grantha praśasti, v. 32.
3 Sâmaṃtasiṃha--samiti--kṣiti--vikṣataujaḥ śrî- Gûrjjara-kṣitipar-rakṣaṇa-dakṣiṇâsiḥ Prahlâdanas tad-anujo Danuj-ottamâri-câritram atra punar ujja(jva)layâṃ-cakâra ‖
(verse 38.) (E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 211.)

further and worse calamity. Someśvara[1] tells us that the ministers and the feudatories divided among themselves the empire of young Bhîma II. Dhârâvarṣa was apparently one of those who hoisted the standard of revolt. But in that difficult period, Arṇorâja, son of Dhavala, the ruler of Bhîmapallî came to the rescue of the Gujarat sovereign. He pressed heavily upon Dhârâvarṣa and the king of Medapâṭa, and subdued them. The Sukṛtakîrttikallolinî of Jayasiṃha relates[2] that Arṇorâja broke down the power of the lords of Medapâṭa (Mewar) and Candrâvatî.

WAR WITH THE MOSLEMS.

The name of Dhârâvarṣa is prominent among those of the heroes who offered strong resistance to the southward movement of the Moslems. In 1178 A. D. when Bhîma II ascended the throne of Anhilwar, Muḥammad of Ghor appeared with his strong force at the northern gate of the Gujarat empire. The Moslem general notwithstanding his strenuous efforts, could not break down the barrier of the Gujarat army, and was forced to retreat. A large number of his soldiers were killed on the battle field, and those who survived suffered extreme hardship on their way back to Ghazna.[3] The Tabaqât-i-Nâṣirî relates[4] that Shihâb-ud-dîn Muḥammad of Ghor advanced towards Nahrwâla by way of Uch and Multân. Bhîmdeo was a minor, but he had a large army and elephant-force, which wounded

1 Kîrtikaumudî, Sarga II, v. 61.

2 Yat-khaḍga-daṇḍa-yamun-âmbhasi Medapâṭa-Candrâvatî pura-patî tridivâya magnau । (v. 75.)

3 Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, p. 170.

4 Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, p. 294, cf 9, 230.

the Sultân in the battle and forced him to retreat. The Tâj-ul Ma'âṣir tells[1] that this battle took place at the foot of Mount Abu. An early authority[2] gives the name of place as Kâsaharada, the modern village of Kâyadram, at the foot of Mount Abu. The Sundha hill inscription[3] states that the Câhamâna Kelhaṇa of Nadula (1161-1194 A. D.) crushed the power of the Turuṣkas. His brother Kîrtipâla (1161-1215 A. D.) is also credited with a victory over the same Turuṣkas,[4] at Kâsahrada. Dr. Bhandarkar[5] rightly thinks that the two brothers fought on the same occasion with the Moslem. We may reasonably suppose that they fought this war on behalf of Bhîma II, as the place of battle was apparently the same as that in which Muḥammad of Ghor is reported to have encountered the army of the Caulukyas. Kâsahrada, the modern Kayadram, where the stone inscription of Dhârâvarṣa was found, was within the jurisdiction of his government. Hence it is almost certain that he also participated in this war against the Moslem and saved his principality by forcing Shihâb-ud-dîn to retreat.

In 1192-93 A. D., Ajmer was finally conquered by the Moslems. Two years later, in 1195 A. D., the Anhilwar government sent succour to the Mers in their effort to reconquer Ajmer. In the battle that ensued a large number of Moslems were killed, and their leader Qutb-ud-dîn Aibak was severely wounded. The Hindus advanced and encamped within one 'parsang' from Ajmer. But when all their attempts were frustrated by their

1 Ibid, p. 230.
2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 77.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid, Vol. XI, p. 71.

enemies, a reinforcement arrived from Ghaznî, enabling the Moslems not only to drive back the Mers but also to advance upon Gujarat, from which the provisions were supplied to the Hindu forces for the reconquest of Ajmer.[1] They easily conquered Pâlî (Bali) and Nadûl, but to their disappointment, they found that the road to Gujarat was strongly guarded by the united forces of Kelhaṇa and Dhârâvarṣa. The description of this battle is given, with great elaboration of detail, by the Tâj-ul Ma'âṣir. The writer says[2] that, when in 1197 A.D. Khusraû, (a general under Qutb-ud dîn), "reached the lofty forts of Pâlî and Nandûl, he found them abandoned and the abode of owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmâns, and had collected under their leaders Râî Karan and Dârâbars, in great numbers, at the foot of Mount Abu, and, at the mouth of a pass, stood ready for fight and slaughter. The Musulmâns did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sultân Muḥammad Sâm Ghorî had been wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander."

"The Hindus, seeing this hesitation, and misconstruing it into cowardice and alarm, abandoning the pass, turned their faces towards the field of battle and the plain of honour and renown ; for they were persuaded that fear had established itself in the hearts of the protectors of the sacred enclosure of religion. The two armies stood face to face for some time, engaged in preparations for fight, and on the night preceding Sunday, the 13th of Rabî'ul awwal, in a fortunate moment, the army of Islâm advanced from its camps,

1 Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, p. 229.
2 Ibid, pp. 229-230.

and at morn reached the position of the infidels. A severe action ensued, from dawn to midday, when the army of idolatry and damnation turned its back in flight from the line of battle. Most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword, and from the heaps of the slain, the hills and the plains became of one level. Râî Karan effected his escape from the field."

The Muhammadan historian does not tell us anything about the fate of Dhârâvarṣa. There is no doubt that he played an important part in the struggle, though he shared in the defeat with all the other Hindu forces, on account of their indiscretion in leaving their most favourable strategic position at the mouth of the pass. After this victory the Moslems appear to have left Gujarat in peace for nearly a quarter of a century.

The internal trouble, which had been sapping the foundations of the Caulukya empire since the accession of Bhîma II, reached its culmination in the first quarter of the thirteenth century A. D., when Bhîma II was dethroned by an usurper named Jayasiṃha. But, about this time, the most prominent figure in Gujarat was Vîradhavala, the son of Lavaṇaprasâda, the ruler of Dholka.

This chaotic state of affairs in Gujarat quickly attracted the attention of Sultân Iyal-Timish (A. D. 1211-1236), and he advanced with an army towards Anhilwar. Vîradhavala shouldered the whole responsibility of defending the country in this emergency,[1] and his position was rendered the more critical by a joint attack on the south from the great Yâdava Siṅghaṇa and the Paramâra Devapâla In that predicament, he

1 Hammîra-mada-mardana, Aṅka I, and II, vide ante, chapter VII, p. 216.

appointed his minister Vastupâla to defend the southern frontier and himself set out for Marwar to check the progress of the Moslems.[1] The chiefs of Marudeśa (Marwar), viz. Somasiṃha, Udayasiṃha and Dhârâvarṣa, into whose territories the armies of the Moslem general were marching without any let or hindrance, now allied themselves to him with great eagerness,[1] as did Bhîmasiṃha, the ruler of Saurâṣṭra. The Hammîra-mada-mardana gives the name of the Moslem general as Hammîravîra-Mîlacchîkâra, but the Prabandha caturviṃśati, more correctly, calls him Suratrâṇa Maujadin, which is a contraction of the name of the Sultân Mu'izz ud-dîn Bahrâm Shâh, Shams-ud-dîn Iyal-Timish, the ruler of Delhi from A. D. 1210 to 1236.

When Vîradhavala was thus rapidly advancing to oppose the Sultân, he was informed that the latter was trying to enter Gujarat from the side of Mount Abu.[2] He at once sent instructions to Dhârâvarṣa to let the enemy pass southward unobstructed and then close the mountain-pass against their return. Dhârâvarṣa acquitted himself of his task very efficiently, and the result was most favourable. The Moslems, to their utter bewilderment, found themselves entrapped in the mountain-pass, hemmed in by Dhârâvarṣa in the rear and Vîradhavala in front. They sustained a heavy loss and a large number of their forces lost their lives in the battle.

This war must have happened between A. D. 1229, the date of the beginning of the ministry of Vastupâla

1 Śrî-SomasiṃhOdayasiṃha-Dhârâ-
varṣair amîbhir Marudeśa-nâthaiḥ ।
diśo'ṣṭa jetuṃ sphuṭam aṣṭa-bâhus
tribhiḥ sametair-abhavat prabhur naḥ ॥ 8 (Hammîra-mada-mardana, Aṅka II.)

2 Prabandha-caturviṃśati.

and the composition of the Hammîra-mada-mardana. The Tabaqât -i-Nâṣirî [1] tells us that in A. D. 1226, Sultân Iyal-Timish sent a general to conquer the fort of Ranthambhor and, in the year following (1227 A. D.) he himself marched against the fort of Manduâr (modern Mandor, in the Jodhpur State), within the limits of the Siwâlik territory. On this occasion, he probably tried to push his way further south into Marwar, but was severely beaten back by the combined forces of Vîradhavala and Dhârâvarṣa.

All these warlike activities, so successfully carried on by Dhârâvarṣa, testify to the enormous strength and resources of his government. He enjoyed a long reign of more than fifty-four years. The dates of his inscriptions range from A. D. 1163 to A. D. 1217. If it is true that Iyal-Timish invaded Marwar in 1227 A. D., as has been suggested above, then his reign must be taken to have ended after that date.

PRAHLÂDANA.

There is no definite evidence to prove that Dhârâvarṣa was succeeded by this younger brother Prahlâdana. The Pâṭanarâyaṇa inscription, issued at the end of the thirteenth century, does not mention his name, and describes Somasiṃha as the successor of Dhârâvarṣa. The Somasaubhâgya, composed in the latter half of the fifteenth century A. D., describes Prahlâdana as the lord of Arbudâcala. [2] The prince was certainly an old man at the time of his accession, if indeed he outlived his brother and succeeded him at all. In his youth he was a good general, and we have already seen how, by his soldierly valour, he saved the Caulukya sovereignty

1 Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, pp. 324-325.
2 Op. cit., v. 13.

from destruction, when the Guhilas shattered the forces of Ajayapâla. But more than his achievements in war was to be estimated his devotion to learning. The Mount Abu inscription,[1] of the reign of Dhârâvarṣa, dated 1209 A. D., describes him as a prince expert in all the fine arts and useful sciences. The Mount Abu inscription, in the temple of Neminâtha, dated 1230 A. D., speaks of his high culture and learning. The poet Someśvara, who composed that record, says—"I am not certain whether it is the goddess sprung from the lotus-seats (Brahmâ) or the celestial cow, granting (every) wish that has come to earth in the form of Prahlâdana.[2] The same author writes in his Kîrtikaumudî[3] that Prahlâdana, by composing some pleasant stories, again delighted the goddess of learning, who was afflicted with sorrow on the passing away of Bhoja and Muñja. The prince produced a number of literary works The Śârṅgadhara-paddhati, a collection of elegant extracts, written in the fourteenth century A. D., contains some of his compositions. Jalhaṇa's Sûktimuktâvali also quotes some of his verses. He composed a vyâyoga or drama in one act,[4] entitled "Pârtha-parâkrama," the

1 saḍ–darśana–avalaṃvana (darśan âvlaṃbana)–staṃbha -sakala—kalâ—kovid—kumâra—guru—Śrî—Prahlâdanadeve yauvarâjye sati ity evaṃ kâle Kedârarâśinâ niṣpâditam idaṃ kîrttanaṃ । (I. A., Vol. XI, p. 222.)

2 Devî sarojâsana-saṃbhavâ kiṃ kâmapradâ kiṃ sura -saurabheyî Prahlâdanâkâra-dharâ dharâyâm âyâtavaty eṣa na niścayo me ॥
(v. 39.) E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 211, 216.

3 Śrî-Prahlâdanadevo'bhûd dvitayena prasiddhimân ।
putratvena Sarasavatyâḥ patitvena jaya-śriyaḥ ॥ 14.
Śrî-Bhoja-Muñjâ-duḥkhârtâ ramyâṃ vartayatâ kathâm ।
Prahlâdanena sâhlâdâ punaś cakre Sarasvatî ॥ 15. sarga I.)

4 Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. IV.

main theme of which is the epic hero Arjuna's exploit of recovering the cows of the king Viràṭa by completely defeating the Kauravas. It was first staged at the court of Dhàràvarṣa, on the occasion of the investiture of the god Acaleśvara with the sacred thread.[1]

Prahlàdana was also famous for his munificence. Someśvara's Surathotsava[2] relates that philanthropic activities ceased with the death of Prahlàdana.

Prahlàdanapura, the modern Palanpur, the headquarters of the subdivision of the same name in Gujarat, 54 miles south of Mount Abu, was founded by this prince. He erected there a Jaina temple called Pàrtha-vihàra. The Upadeśa-taraṅgiṇî relates a story in connection with the foundation of this temple. One day, Prahlàdana, the lord of Arbudàcala, melted down a Jaina brass image and made a bull out of the metal for Acaleśvara Mahàdeva. In consequence of this act of desecration he was attacked with leprosy, and his kingdom was usurped by his relations. After this, as he was wandering from country to country, he happened to meet with Śîladhavalàcàrya, and related to him the cause of his distress. The Jaina teacher told him that the only means of his recovery lay in acquiring religious merit by erecting numerous temples and images of the Jaina gods. The prince accordingly, laid the foundation of the temple of Pàlhavihàra and enshrined in it a golden image of Pàrśvanàtha. He often found much delight

1 Sthàpakaḥ Tan na Jàne bhagavataḥ Śrîmad-Acaleśvara -devasya pavitrakàropaṇa-parvaṇi kenàpi rûpakeṇàdya pramodanîyaḥ sabhàsadaḥ |
Naṭaḥ Ârya ! tad etad atula-paràkrama-camatkàritàkhila -Bhàratasya Śrî-Dhàràvarṣasya parṣadà prahitaṃ patrakam (ibid., pp. 1-2.).

2 Śrî-Prahlàdanam antareṇa virataṃ viśvopakàra-vratam | (sarga I, v. 52.)

in gazing at that god through the window of the shrine. He was soon cured of his disease, and passed the remainder of his life in observing the rules of the Jaina religion. This story is also narrated in the Commentary on the Hîrasaubhâgya,[1] but we have now no other evidence of its truth.

The earliest reference to Prahlâdanapura occurs in the praśasti of the Atimuktacaritra of Pûrṇabhadra, composed in Saṃ. 1282=1225 A. D.[2] Vastupâla, when on pilgrimage to Mount Abu, worshipped Pârśvanâtha in the Pâlhavihâra in Prahlâdanapura, and installed there an image of Neminâtha.

The Samarâ Râsu, a book written about Saṃ. 1371= 1314 A. D., refers to Pâlhaṇapura and Pâlhavihâra,[3] and the Somasaubhâgya, a work composed at the end of the fifteenth century A. D., praises Prahlâdana very highly for the foundation of the above city and the temple.[4]

1 Op. cit., Canto I, Verses 69-128.

2 Śrîmat-Prahlâdana-pura-vare Pûrṇabhadro gaṇir drâk
śiṣyaḥ Śrîmaj-Jina-pati guroś câru cakre caritram |
citttâścaryaṃ vijaya-tanayasyÂtimuktasya sâdhor
dvy-aṣṭârkkâbde 1282 diti sura-gurau kârtike pûrṇam-
âsyâm ||

3 Vs. 10-11.

4 Prahlâdana-kṣiti-patir dyupatir mahobhiḥ Śrî-Arbudâcala
-vibhuḥ as babhûva pûrvam |
tena svanâma-viditaṃ dita-pâpa-tâpaṃ saṃsthâpitaṃ
puram idaṃ mudita-prajâḍhyam || 13
tatraiṣa bhûmi-ramaṇî-ramaṇîya-hâraṃ sphâraṃ vihâram
samaṃ samakârayac ca
svîyâkhyayâ pravara rai-kapi-śîrṣa sâra-prâkâra-gopura-
mahardhiparârdha-śobham || 14 ||
samyag-dṛśâm viracitâdbhuta-citta-śaitye caitye phaṇâ-
maṇi-nirasta-tamaḥ-samûham |
vighnopaśânti-karaṇam śaraṇaṃ śritânâṃ śrî-Pârśva-
bimbam avilambam atiṣṭ(h)i pac ca || 15

Thus it appears that Prahlâdana lived long in the memory of the people on account of his literary and architectural labours.

SOMASIMHA.

Somasiṃha, the son of Dhârâvarṣa, succeeded his uncle Prahlâdana on the throne in the second quarter of the thirteenth century A. D. Three inscriptions of his reign have been discovered. Two of them are engraved on the wall of the temple of Neminâtha on Mount Abu.[1] Their object is to record that in the month of Phâlguna, in Saṃ. 1287 = February 1230 A. D. when Bhîmadeva (II) was on the throne of Anahilapura and Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Râjakula Somasiṃha, son of Dhârâvarṣa, was ruling in Mount Abu, Tejaḥpâla, the minister of Vîradhavala, built in the village of Deulavâḍâ, on the top of Mount Abu, this temple of the holy Neminâtha, called Lûṇasiṃhavasahikâ. It was erected to increase the religious merit of his wife Anupamadevî and his son Luṇasiṃha. It is further stated that the mahârâjakula Somasiṃha made a grant of the village of Ḍavâṇî, in Vâhirahadî, for the maintenance of this temple. The trustees for the temple were Somasiṃha, his son Kṛṣṇa, and many other personages of the Arbuda country.

Of the localities mentioned above, Deulavâḍâ is to be identified with the modern village of Dilwara, on Mount Abu.

The third inscription[2] was found at Nana, in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated Saṃ. 1290 = 1233 A. D. It records that, in the reign of Mahârâjâ-

1 E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 208 seq,

2 A. S. I., 1907-8, p. 226.

dhirâja-Somasiṃhadeva, the village of Nânaka was owned by a person who was a favourite of the Yuvarâja Kanhâḍadeva. Nânaka is evidently the modern village of Nana, where the record was found.

Our knowledge about Somasiṃha's career is very scanty. He was liberal to the Brahmans, and remitted their taxes.[1] He had a great devotion to learning. He is said to have inherited bravery from his father, learning from his paternal uncle, and liberality from them both.[2]

KṚṢṆARÂJA.

Somasiṃha was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇarâja, during whose reign Mount Abu seems to have seen conquered and annexed for a time to the Guhila kingdom of Mewar. An inscription,[3] dated Saṃ. 1342=1285 A. D., discovered in the wall of a shrine, called the 'maṭha' of 'Pûjâri Bâbâ', to the south of the temple of Acaleśvara, proves that Mount Abu was at that time under the suzerainty of the Guhila Samarasiṃha. His governor of this newly annexed province seems to have been Jaitrakarṇa.

PRATÂPASIMHA.

Kṛṣṇarâja's son and successor was Pratâpasiṃha, who was an intrepid warrior. He probably with the assistance of the Vâghelas of Dholk rgained Candrâvatî by overthrowing Jaitrakarṇa. The Pâṭanârâyaṇa inscrip-

1 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 211, v. 41.

2 Dhârâvarṣa-suto 'yaṃ jayati Śrî-Somasiṃha-devo yaḥ ।
pitṛtaḥ śauraṃ vidyâṃ pitṛvyakâd dânam ubhayato jagṛhe ॥
Ibid., v. 40.

3 Prakrit and Sanskrit inscription of Kathywar, p.84.

tion glorifies him for this brilliant achievement.[1] But, though Pratâpasiṃha regained his paternal throne, he had by this time lost much of his princely authority, and now became a subordinate of Vîsaladeva, son of Bhâdadeva, a governor of Vâghelâ Sârangadeva of Anhilwar.

An inscription[2] of Pratâpasiṃha's reign has been discovered in the temple of Pâṭanârâyaṇa, near Girwar, about four miles west of Madhusûdana, in the Sirohi State. It records that in the victorious reign of Vîsaladeva, son of Bhâdadeva, when Pratâpasiṃha was ruling in Candrâvatî, Pratâpasiṃha's minister Delhaṇa, resident of the village of Griviḍa, caused the temple of Paṭṭanârâyaṇa to be repaired, between the month of Âśvina, Saṃ. 1343 and that of Jyeṣṭha, Saṃ. 1344 (=October 1286 and May 1287). The people of the neighbouring villages made the following donation for the maintenance of the temple :—

(a) One donakârî and a field in the village of Chanâra, from Devaḍâ Melâka, son of Śobhita.
(b) A dhîmaḍâ in the village of Khîmâulî from Râjaputra Vîrapâla, son of Vîhala.
(c) Eight seers of corn from each arahaṭṭa and two seers from each dhîmaḍu and one seer of grain from each plough in the village of Kâlhaṇavâḍâ, and from the villagers of Aulî.

1 Pradyumna-kalpo 'jani yena sa Śrî-Pratâpasiṃho'ri-karîṃdra-siṃhaḥ ॥ 17 ।
Kâmaṃ pramathya samare jagad-ekavîras tam Jaitrakarṇ-ṇam iha Karṇṇam ive'ṃdra-sunuḥ ।
Candrâvatîm para-kulodadhi-dûra-magnâm urvvîṃ varâha iva yaḥ sahasoddadhâra ॥ 18
(I. A., Vol. XLV, p. 78).

2 ibid, p. 77.

(d) Ten drammas from each of these villages, from Nuḍimala, son of Guhila.

(e) The revenue of the Golapikâ, in the village of Maḍâulî, for twelve ekâdaśîs, and the export duty of Candrâvatî, from the Râjaputra Gâṃgû (Gâṅgu) and Karmasiṃha.

The inscription attributes the installation there of this god Paṭṭanârâyaṇa to the epic hero Râma. He is said to have established the god Śuddheśvaradeva near Abu, after having proved Sîtâ's purity by means of the fire-ordeal.

About this time, the Câhamânas of Raṇastambhapura led an expedition against Mount Abu, in the course of their southern march. Their great king, Hammîra (1283-1301 A. D.), launched a series of campaigns against the neighbouring Hindu chiefs. The Hammîra-mahâkâvya relates that [1] the king, in the course of his 'digvijaya', ravaged the country of Mewar and reached Mount Abu, whose ruler, although he was famous for his military skill, submitted to him. He halted for some time on Mount Abu, worshipped in the temple of Ṛṣabhadeva, and, having bathed in the holy Mandâkinî, paid his devotion to Acaleśvara. The Abu king, here referred to, may have been Pratâpasiṃha. He probably did not long survive this event, and died apparently without male issue.

Vîsala, the Viceroy of the Vâghelâs over the northern part of the Gujarat empire, then brought Mount Abu under his direct control, and made Candrâvatî his capital. An inscription [2] from Abu, dated Saṃ. 1350 = 1293 A. D., relates that Vîsala governed eighteen

1 I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 64.
2 Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, p. 311.

hundred maṇḍalas from his residence at Candrâvatî, under the suzerainty of Sâraṅgadeva of Anahilapura.

But the province did not long remain under the sway of the Vâghelâs, whose authority became totally extinct at the close of the thirteenth century. In 1297 A. D., Alaf Khân, the brother of the Sultân Alâ-ud-dîn Khiljî, wrested Gujarat from Karṇa, the successor of Sâraṅgadeva, and established there the supremacy of the Moslems.[1] During this period of unrest, the Câhamânas of Nadol took possession of Mount Abu and incorporated the province into their territory. The Mount Abu inscription[2] of the Câhamâna Luṇṭigadeva, dated Saṃ. 1377 = 1320 A. D., relates that the king conquered Candrâvatî, and ruled over the territory of Arbuda.

Thus we find that the Paramâra family at Candrâvatî lost its political power about the same time as the imperial house at Dhârâ. A short review of this chapter will show that, though this junior branch of rulers owed their territory and throne to the main family at Dhârâ, they subsequently severed all political relations with it, under adverse circumstances. The resources of their government were not such as to enable them to maintain their independence against foreign invasions, and thus, when the government of Malwa suffered a temporary degeneration after the death of Bhoja, the Abu princes had no other alternative but to submit to the mighty force of the Caulukya Bhîma. Henceforward, they always kept up friendly relations with the Gujarat dynasty by acknowledging its supreme authority. They helped its rulers on many occasions with strong military forces, and on more than one

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 205.
2 Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga, v. 38, p. 287.

occasion saved it from complete destruction. They were the gate-keepers of the Gujarat empire, and successfully defended their position from the onslaught of the foreigners. One most noticeable feature of their long career is that they are never found to have assisted the Caulukyas in their protracted war with the Paramâras of Malwa. Holding a subordinate position and ruling over a small territory, they yet figured very prominently in the political arena of this period, and deserve credit for their magnificent achievements. The main cause of their downfall was the invasion of the Guhilas of Mewar and the Câhamânas of Ranastambhapura, who gave a fatal blow to their governmental power.

THE SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY.

A brief note will be made below of the social, religious and architectural history of Mount Abu under the rule of these Paramâra princes.

Mount Abu lies in 24°36' N. and 72°43' E., seventeen miles north-west of Abu station, on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. It is 4,000 feet above sea-level, and its summit is crowned with a plateau about 12 miles long and about 3 miles broad, and is rendered very charming by its admirable scenery. The rivers Banas and Mandakini pass through it, and the Nakhi Talao (lake), half a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, adds greatly to the beauty of the place. Hemacandra, who was a contemporary of Yaśodhavala and Dhârâvarṣa, tells us that[1] the Arbuda country, over which the Paramâras ruled, contained eighteen hundred villages, but of these

1 Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga, v. 38, p. 287.

we know only the following from the contemporary records hitherto discovered :

NAME OF VILLAGE		MODERN EQUIVALENT
(1) Roheḍâ		
(2) Vîhala		
(3) Bhundipadra	... ...	Bharund
(4) Phulahalî		
(5) Vâsaṇa		
(6) Sâvaḍavṛddha		
(7) Âjâharî	... ...	Ajari
(8) Sahilavâḍâ	... ...	Selwara, 8½ miles W. N. W. of Dilwara.
(9) Kumbhâranuli		
(10) Mâgavâḍî		
(11) Hâthaḍalî	... ...	Hathar.
(12) Kurikâbhukti		
(13) Griviḍa	... ...	Girwar.
(14) Chanâra		
(15) Khîmâulî		
(16) Âulî		
(17) Kanakhala		
(18) Deulavâḍâ	... ...	Delwara.
(19) Davânî in Vâhirahadi		
(20) Śrîmâtâmahabu		
(21) Âbuya	... ...	Abu, 1½ miles S. W. of Dilwara.
(22) Orâsâ	... ...	Oria, 3 miles N. E. of Dilwara.
(23) Ûttâracha	... ...	Utraj, 5½ miles N. E. of Dilwara.
(24) Sihara	... ...	Sera, 8 miles N. E. of Dilwara.
(25) Sâla	... ...	Salgaon, 1 mile E. S. E. of Dilwara.

NAME OF VILLAGE	MODERN EQUIVALENT
(26) Heṭhauñji ...	... Hetamji, 2 miles S. of Dilwara.
(27) Âkhî	
(28) Koṭaḍî ...	... Kotra, 7 miles E. of Dilwara.
(29) Bhâlibhâḍâ	
(30) Umbaraṇikî ...	... Umarni, 7 miles S. S. W. of Dilwara.
(31) Sarauli	
(32) Kâsahrada ...	... Kayadra.
(33) Dhauli ...	... Dhauli, 8½ miles W. S. W. of Dilwara.
(34) Muṇḍasthala ...	... Murthala, 8½ miles S. S. E. of Dilwara.
(35) Phîlini	
(36) Hauḍâudrâ	
(37) Gaḍâhaḍa ...	... Gadara, 11 miles S. S. W. of Dilwara.
(38) Maḍâulî	
(39) Kâlhaṇavâḍâ	
(40) Khîmâulî	

Of the cities or towns the following are known to us :

(1) Candrâvatî
(2) Prahlâdanapura
(3) Vaṭapura

The residents of all these villages followed either the Hindu or the Jaina religion. The Brahmans were divided into various Gotras, some of which were—

Âtreya,
Kâśyapa,
Śâṇḍilya,
Garga, etc.,[1]

1 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 76; I. A., Vol. XLV, p. 80.

and a section known as "Gûgulî".[1] Of the Kṣatriya and the other castes, the following families are known :—

(a) Hâthundi of the Râṭhor tribe.[2]
(b) Devaḍa—a branch of the Câhamânas.[3]
(c) Prâgvâṭa,
(c) Ûesavalâs or Oisavâlas.
(e) Śrîmâlas.
(f) Dharkaṭas.
(g) Pratihâra Rajputs.[4]

The Bhîls, who were aboriginals, formed an important section of the population.[5] Their chief occupations were the cultivation of the soil, painting and gambling,[6] and they sometimes acted as guides in the hilly tracts.

In every village there were fields for cultivation and pasturelands for grazing cattle.[7] Barley and rice were the chief crops of the fields.[8] The country possessed a large number of beautiful forests.[9] There were mines yielding various kinds of mineral products, the chief of which were jewels and precious stones.[10] The dramma was one of the coins in their currency system.[11]

The people were rich and healthy. The country was seldom visited by famine, and there were few diseases among the population. The climate was cold, and the people wore lions' skins[12] againsts its rigour. They

1 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 206.
2 I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
3 Ibid., Vol. XLV, p. 77.
4 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 206.
5 Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga.
6 Ibid.
7 I. A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193.
8 Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga. v. 60.
9 Ibid., v. 54, p. 299.
10 Ibid., v. 53.
11 I. A., Vol. XLV, p. 80.
12 Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga, vs. 51-52.

enjoyed a very happy existence. Sometimes they undertook corporate work for the welfare of the villagers. A number of the inhabitants of the village of Bhundipadra united in contributing various sums of money for the construction of a step-well, with the object of providing pure drinking water for the people of the locality. The donors are described as realising that one can remain alive even for a month without food, but that without water none can survive even for a day and a night.[1]

The Paramâra princes were assisted in the administration of the country by their ministers. The Talâras were executive officers, whose duty was to maintain peace and order in the villages.[2]

In the middle of the twelfth century A. D., the annual income of the government was one lakh of coins, out of which the tributes to the Caulukya sovereigns of Gujarat[3] had to be paid.

RELIGION.

During this period, both Brahmanism and Jainism flourished vigorously in this country. The people believed that Mount Abu had been enjoying the honour of being a great place of pilgrimage from the time of the Vedas. It was regarded as an abode of the Vedic ṛṣis Vasiṣṭha and Viśvâmitra.

BRAHMANISM.

The followers of the Brahmanical religion were devout worshippers of Śiva and the Sun (Bhânu).

1 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 76.
2 I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 12.
3 Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga, v. 62, p. 303.

Bhaṭṭâraka Vîsala Udradamaka[1] was once the âcârya of Śivadharma. Vaṭapura was a prosperous town, inhabited by a large number of musicians, heroes and warriors.[2] Here all the inhabitants, together with the Brahmans, were devotees of Bhânu.[3] The people worshipped Śiva under various names—viz Koṭeśvara, Atulanâtha, Kanakhalanâtha, Śûlapâṇi, Kanakhala Śambhu[4] and Kâseśvara.[5] The Gods Nârâyaṇa, Varuṇa, Ganeśa and the Goddess Sarasvatî were also invoked and worshipped.[6] Special reverence was shown to Brahmans and cows. It was generally believed that any act of piety done to them opened to one the gate of Heaven, while, (*per contra*), to kill a Brahman was considered the most heinous of crimes. In the forest Sindhukâ and other Devîs were believed to have dwelt. People from foreign countries assembled there every year to celebrate Śrî-Mâtâ's festival.[7] The government spent a vast sum of money annually on the celebration of Śrî Devî's festival.[8]

JAINISM.

Jainism seems to have found a strong footing in Mount Abu from the beginning of the eleventh century A. D., when Vimala, a devout follower of Arhat, obtained for a short period the viceroyalty of the province. The

1 I. A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193.
2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 15, v. 24.
3 Ibid.
4 I. A., Vol. XI, p. 222.
5 Ibid., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
6 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXLII, p. 75; I. A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193; Vol. XLV, p. 79.
7 Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga, v. 54.
8 Ibid.

Upadeśataraṅginî relates that the prince Prahlâdana became in the latter part of his life a convert to the Jaina faith. His nephew Somasiṃha showed his liberality to the Jainas by granting a village for the maintenance of the temple of Neminâtha. The Jainas worshipped there Âdinâtha, Neminâtha, Ṛṣabhadeva, Śântinâtha and Aranâtha [1]

In later periods, the purity of Mount Abu seems to have been tainted by the penetration of some evil elements. The great poet Someśvara describes it as an abode of vice and virtue, He says :—[2] There is this Arbuda, the peak of a range of mountain, the son of the mountain that is the father-in-law of the husband of Gaurî, who, carrying the Mandâkinî on his top plaited round with clouds, personates the moon-bearer (whose) brother-in-law (he is), (as the latter carries the Gaṅgâ on his head covered with thick braids.)

"In one place on this (mountain) love enters even him who strives after deliverances, when he beholds the lovely women enjoying themselves; in the another even the mind of a frivolous man becomes indifferent to the world, when he sees the line of sanctuaries to be visited by ascetics."

Both the Hindus and the Jainas recorded their devotion to their respective faiths by laying the foundation of numerous magnificent temples. Deuka, Nâga,[3] Dhâreśvara, Deüa, Lahampaśra,[4] Pâlhaṇa,[5] Câḍadeva[6] and Candreśvara[7] were among the architects of this

1 Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, p. 312.
2 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 215.
3 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 12.
4 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 77.
5 I. A., Vol. XI, p. 222.
6 Ibid., Vol. LVI, p. 12.
7 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 219.

period. There were the temples of Vasiṣṭha and Acaleśvara Mahâdeva.[1] In Vaṭanagara Lâhinî Devî, the sister of Pûrṇapâla, repaired an ancient temple of the sun, and founded a tank close to it.[2] In 1209 A. D. Kedârarâsi, a resident of Ujjain, built two large temples of Śûlapâṇi and renovated the temples of Koṭeśvara and Atulanâtha, in the holy place of Kanakhala. He also paved the interior of that place of pilgrimage with large stone slabs and surrounded it with high walls.[3] A row of pillars of black stone was erected by him in the maṇḍapa of the temple of Kanakhala Śambhu. His sister Mokṣeśvarî also built there a temple of Śiva. The temple of Paṭṭanârâyaṇa, near Girwar, which was restored by the minister Delhaṇa, seems to have been a work of that period.

The Jainas mostly limited their architectural activities to Dilwara on Mount Abu. They built there many fanes, two of which deserve our special attention. Both of them are constructed of white marble, and their chief characteristic lies in their domes, which introduced a new style into ancient Indian architecture.

The first was built by Vimala, a viceroy of the Caulukya Bhîma I, in 1031 A. D.[4] In the centre of its courtyard there is a cross legged image of Ṛṣabhanâtha or Âdinâtha in a cell which terminates in a pyramidal roof. In front of this is a maṇḍapa, which is faced by a large portico, surmounted by a dome resting on eight pillars. All of them are enclosed in a courtyard, 128 ft. by 75 ft. inside, surrounded by a double clonnade of smaller pillars, forming porticoes to a range of cells,

1 Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga, v. 49.
2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 12.
3 I. A., Vol. XI, pp. 221-222.
4 E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 155 seq.

fifty-two in number.[1] Each cell contains a cross-legged image of Jina. The entrance to the courtyard is through a domed portico, supported by six pillars, in front of which is a square building. Inside this square building are ten statues of human figures representing Vimala and his family, mounted on an equal number of elephants.

The style of the second temple, built, in 1230 A. D.[2] by Tejaḥpâla, a minister of Vâghelâ Vîradhavala, is similar to that of the preceding one, but with divergences of detail. Here Tejaḥpâla's family stands just behind the shrine, in the courtyard, separated from the rest by a pierced screen of open tracery. The Mount Abu inscription relates that[3] "the minister Tejaḥpâla, a moon on earth, erected the temple of the lord Nemi, which shines by lines of stones as white as conch-shells, (and) is resplendent like moon and jasmine flower, a lofty hall (maṇḍapa) in front (of it), fifty-two shrines for the best of the Jinas on the sides of it, and a seat (balânaka) in the front."

Externally, both the temples are very simple in form but, in the interior, the pillars and the dome are lavishly adorned with decorative designs. In the centre of the dome there is a pendant of superb excellence. at the base of which, on brackets round the circumference, stand sixteen four-armed female figures of Vidyâdevî (the goddess of knowledge). The roofs of the corridor also are beautified with graceful floral designs. Mr. Fergusson remarks that[4] "the whole is in white

1 The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by Fergusson, Vol. II, p. 38.

2 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 218.

3 Ibid.

4 The History of Indian and Eastern Architcture, Vol. II, p. 41.

marble, and finished with a delicacy of detail and appropriateness of ornament which is probably unsurpassed by any similar example to be found anywhere else. Those introduced by the Gothic architects in Henry VII's chapel at Westminister, or at Oxford, are coarse and clumsy in comparison."

Candrâvatî, the capital of the Paramâra princes, was a city of great importance. It is bounded on the east by the hills, on the south by the river Sivalan, and on the north-west by the river Banas. In ancient times the city contained innumerable temples of great magnificence but they are now in complete ruins. Scores of mounds of bricks, that formed the foundations of these old temples, and fragments of marble and stone are found all over its ancient site. An old Brahmanic temple still stands there in a comparatively perfect state of preservation. It is built entirely of white marble, and is one of the best specimens of Brahmanic architecture. It is profusely decorated, and its designs are graceful. It contains one hundred and thirty-eight images, the smallest being placed in niches. The principal figures are a three-headed statue, with a female seated on his knee, sitting in a car with a large goose in front; Śiva with twenty arms; Bhairava with twenty arms, one holding a human head by the hair; a victim lying dead, with a nymph on each side, one of whom appears to be drinking the blood falling from the head; dancing nymphs with garlands and musical instruments.[1]

The prince Prahlâdana also founded a temple of Jina Pârśvanâtha in Palanpur.[2]

1 Archaeological Survey of Western India, Burgess and Cousens, Vol. IX, pp 96 ff.

2 Vide ante, p. 319.

Our information regarding the literary activities of the people of Mouut Abu during the period under review is scanty. Hemacandra relates that Mount Abu was a centre of Sanskrit learning to which scholars from different parts of India came for study.[1] Prince Prahlâdana, as we have already said, was a great poet, and wrote a drama entitled "Pârtha-parâkrama."

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1 Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga, v. 75.

CHAPTER X.

THE PARAMÂRAS OF VÂGAḌA, BHINMAL, AND JALOR.

VÂGAḌA BRANCH.

The modern states of Banswara and Dungarpur lie on the southern border of Rajputana. In ancient times both these territories went by the common name of Vâgaḍa,[1] and were ruled over for a long time by a junior branch of the Paramâras, who held the country as feudatories of the imperial house of Dhârâ. The modern village of Arthuna, about 28 miles west of Banswara, contains the ruins of an old and extensive city. There are also remains of about a dozen Hindu and Jaina temples. According to local tradition, the place was anciently known as Amarâvatî. It appears to have been the head-quarters of the province during the rule of the Paramâras. The Paramâra princes of Vâgaḍa were descendants of Ḍaṃbarasiṃha, the younger son of Upendra-Kṛṣṇarâja.[2]

The earliest known ruler of the family is Dhanika,[3] who flourished in the middle of the tenth century A. D., and built the temple of Dhaneśvara near Mahâkâla, in Ujjain.[4] His successor was Cacca, also known as Kakka or Kaṅka,[5] a contemporary of Sîyaka-Harṣa of Malwa (948-972 A. D.). Cacca was a brave warrior. He accompanied the armies of Sîyaka in their march against the

1 Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XI, p. 380.

2 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 304.

3 Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 47.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 296.

RÂṣṭrakûṭa Khoṭṭiga of Mânyakheṭa. In the battle, which took place at Khalighaṭṭa, on the bank of the Narmada, Cacca showed his wonderful valour, and died fighting bravely. The Arthuna inscription, while recording his princely qualities, relates that [1] "Mounted upon his elephant's back, on every side with showers of arrows shattering the host of the lord of Karṇâṭa upon the banks of the Narmadâ, slaying thus the foes of the blest king Śrîharṣa, the lord of Mâlava, he went to heaven, a valiant warrior, worshipping with the lotuses of the eyes of the ladies of the Gods."

The Panhera inscription [2] gives us the same information, and adds to it the name of the place, Khalighaṭṭa on the Narmada, where the battle was fought. Khalighaṭṭa still retains its ancient name. It is a ford on the Narmada.

Cacca was succeeded by Caṇḍapa, who was followed by Satyarâja. Satyarâja was a contemporary of the great Bhoja of Dhârâ, and fought on his behalf against the Caulukyas of Gujarat. [3] The Panhera inscription [4] records his victory over the Gurjaras and he is said to have received fortune from Bhoja. It may be that he took a prominent part in sacking Anhilwar with Kulacandra, the general of Bhoja. He married a Câhamâna princess named Râjaśrî, [5] and had two sons, Limbarâja and Maṇḍana or Maṇḍalîka, of whom the former succeeded

1 Ârûḍho gaja-pṛṣṭha vâhuta (âhata ?)-sa (śa)r-âsârai raṇe sarvvataḥ Karṇṇâṭâdhipater vva(bba)laṃ vidalayaṃs tan Narmadâyâs taṭe Śrî-Śrîharṣa-nṛpasya Mâlava-pateḥ kṛtvâ tathârikṣayaṃ yaḥ svarggaṃ subhaṭo yayau sura-vadhû-netrotpalair arccitaḥ ll v. 19. (E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 299).

2 Ibid , Vol. XXI, p. 42.

3 ibid., p. 47.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

him on the throne, to be followed later by Maṇḍalîka, who was a feudatory of the king Jayasiṃha of Malwa (1055=1059 A. D.). An inscription [1] of his reign, now unfortunately broken in pieces, has been found engraved on a slab, built into the wall of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara Mahâdeva, at Panhera in the Banswara State. It is dated V. S. 1116=1059 A. D., and relates that the prince erected a temple of Śiva, known as Maṇḍaleśvara at Pâsulâkheṭaka, and granted some lands in the villages of Naṭṭapâṭaka, Pânâchî, and Maṇḍaladraha for its maintenance. It is obvious that Pâsulâkheṭaka was the ancient name of the modern Panhera, and the temple in which the stone was discovered is the same as that erected by the prince. Naṭṭapâṭaka is to be identified with Natawara, Pânâchi with Panasi, and Maṇḍaladraha with Madalda, all situated in the neighbourhood of Panhera.

The Arthuna inscription devotes as many as twenty verses to the commemoration of Maṇḍalîka's princely qualities. [2] But nothing in particular can be gleaned from them. Verse 30 narrates that he increased his fortune by baffling the hostile action of his enemy. That he was a great warrior admits of no doubt. The Panhera inscription [3] records that he captured in battle the commander Kanha, together with all his horses and elephants, and handed them over to Jayasiṃha. The King on whose behalf Kanha fought this battle can not be identified.

Maṇḍalîka was famous for his liberality. He built a town and adorned it with white houses and gardens ; [4]

1 E. I., Vol. XXI, p. 47.
2 Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 305—307.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 48.
4 Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 310.

he also established the following imposts for the maintenance of the temple of the god [1] Maṇḍaleśvara near Arthuna.

"On every 'bharaka' of cocoanuts, one fruit ; on each 'mûṭaka' of salt, a 'mânaka' ; from every thousand arecanuts, one nut ; on every ghaṭaka of butter and sesam oil, one palikâ.

On each koṭikâ of clothing fabric were assigned one and a half rûpakas ; on a jâla, two pûlakas.

For each house of the traders in the local bazaar was assigned by him a dramma on the Caitra festival and on the festival of the sacred thread.

On the shops of the braziers was likewise imposed a dramma for the month, on (each) vuṃvaka of the distillers four rûpakas.

On every house of the whole population a dramma, on the gambling (house) two rûpakas.

On each lagaḍâ were assigned two santas, on each karṣa of oil a pâṇaka ; on each load of cattle-fodder a vṛṣa-viṃśopaka.

A dramma on each traders' association.

On a pile of sugar a dramma, on a water-wheel a hâraka of barley.

On a clear twenty (packs) of loaded grain one bharaka, and on a bharaka (of the same) one chaṅga.

One citron from each lagaḍâ, and the vâpa from a mûṭaka of barley, and likewise on âṭavika."

Maṇḍalîka was succeeded by his son Câmuṇḍarâja. Four inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

The first [2] was found on the right side of the śikhara' of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara Mahâdeva, about a mile to the east of Arthuna. Its object is to record that, in

1 E. I., Vol. XIV, pp. 309-10.
2 Ibid., Vol XIV, p 295.

Saṃ 1136=1079 A. D., Câmuṇḍarâja repaired the temple of Maṇḍaleśa. He confirmed the arrangement made by his father for the maintenance of the temple, and himself added to it the following impost :[1]

"On each bharaka of candied sugar and jaggery belonging to the traders, one varnikâ ; on each bharaka of Bengal madder, thread, and cotton, one rûpaka."

This inscription was composed by Candra, younger brother of Vijaya-Sâdhâra, the son of the poet Sumati-Sâdhâra, a member of the Sâdhâra family. It was written by Âśârâja, son of the junior Śrîdhara of the Kâyastha race.

The second inscription[2] was discovered in a ruined temple of Śiva at Arthuna. Asadeva, Bhavyasarâja and Anantapâla were three brothers. Anantapâla built a temple of Śiva, in V. S. 1137=1080 A. D. during the reign of Câmuṇḍarâja, and this temple was apparently the same as that in which the record was discovered.

The third inscription[3] is much defaced, and was found in a Jaina temple at Arthuna. It contains the name of this prince, and is dated Saṃ. 1157=1100 A. D.

The fourth inscription[4] is now in the Ajmer Museum, and does not contain any date.

Câmuṇḍarâja attained mastery in the art of war, and is said to have fought many battles with his enemies. The Arthuna inscription[5] relates that he crushed the power of Sindhurâja in battle. Sindhurâja was probably the king of Sindh. Câmuṇḍarâja was a great devotee of

1 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 309.

2 Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, 1915, p. 35, unpublished.

3 Ibid., unpublished.

4 Unpublished.

5 V. 55.

Śiva, and dispensed bounties to the Brahmans. He was succeeded by his son Vijayarâja.

Two inscriptions of Vijayarâja's reign are known to us. The first[1] is dated Saṃ. 1165=1108 A. D., and records the installation of the image of Hanumâna, on the pedestal of which it is found engraved. The second inscription was issued one year later, in Saṃ. 1165=1109 A. D.[2]

After the reign of Vijayarâja, we do not know anything about the history of his family. It appears to have ruled over its territory up to the sixth decade of the twelfth century A. D.

In 1145 A. D., Malwa was conquered by the Caulukyas of Gujarat, and was ruled by them till 1174 A. D. With the decline of the power of the house at Dhârâ, about this time, the Vâgaḍa branch seems to have lost its political supremacy. Taking advantage of its helplessness, the Guhilas of Mewar invaded the country and annexed it to their own kingdom. Mûtâ Nensî relates that the Guhila Sâmantasiṃha (1172–1179 A. D.), having established his supremacy in Vâgaḍa, brought all the surrounding territory under his control. An inscription[3] of Sâmantasiṃha's reign, dated V. S. 1236=1179 A. D., confirms this fact. His descendant, Sîhaḍa (1220-1234 A. D.), issued an inscription from Vâgaḍavaṭapadraka.[4]

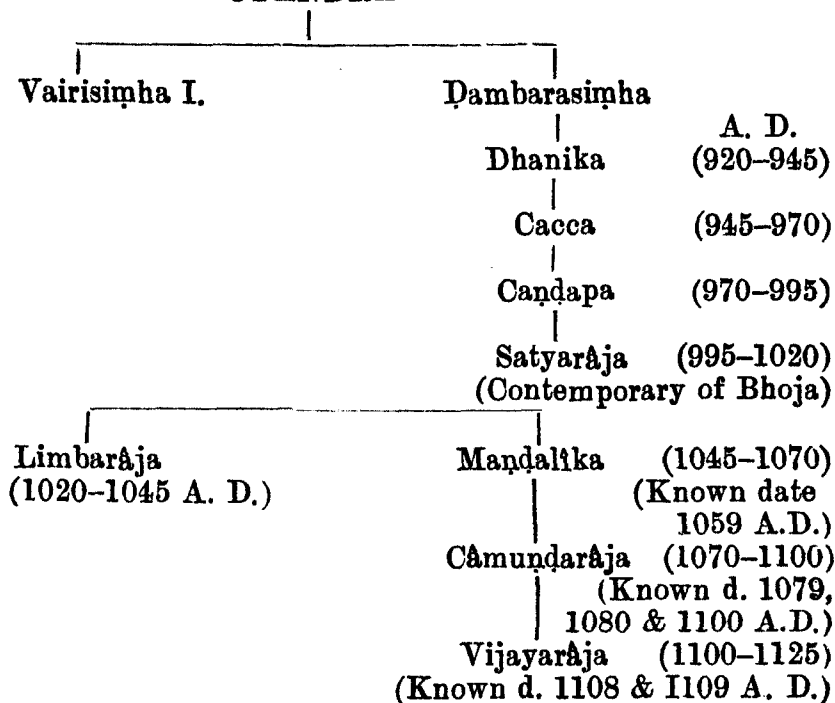
The war between Sîyaka II of Malwa and the Râṣṭrakûṭa Khoṭṭiga took place in 970-971 A. D. The prince

1 Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, 1918, p 2. unpublished.

2 A. S. I., 1908-9, p. 118, unpublished.

3 Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, 1915, p. 35.

4 Ibid., p. 36; I. A., Vol. LIII, p. 102, footnote.

Cacca died in this battle. Taking 970 A. D. as the beginning of Caṇḍapa's reign, if a period of twenty-five years is allotted to each generation, the genealogy of the Vâgaḍa line runs as follows :

JALOR BRANCH.

Our knowledge about the Paramâras of Jalor is also very scanty. Candana, the son of Vâkpatirâja, is the first prince of this branch. He was followed by Devarâja, Aparâjita, Vijjala, Dhârâvarṣa and Vîsala. An inscription[1] of Vîsala's reign has been discovered in the wall of a building called "Topkhana", at Jalor. The record was issued in Saṃ. 1174=1117 A. D., on the occasion

1 I. A., Vol. LXII, p. 41 ; Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, 1909, p. 54.

of the installation of a golden jar in the temple of Sindhurâjeśvara by Malaradevî, queen of Vîsala. Nothing is known about the successors of Vîsala.

The dynasty was overthrown by the Câhamânas of Nadol in the latter part of the 12th century A. D. Mûtâ Nensî relates that the Câhamâna Kîrtipâla, younger brother of the king Kelhaṇa (1164-1192 A. D.), wrested Jâbâlipura (Jalor) from the Paramâras. After this conquest, the seat of the Câhamâna government was transferred from Nadol to Jalor.

Assuming 1117 A. D. as the year of the accession of Vîsala, if a reign of twenty-five years is allotted to each generation, the genealogy of the Jalor branch stands thus :

	A. D.
VÂKPATIRÂJA	(972-997)
Candana	(992 „)
Devarâja	(1017 „)
Aparâjita	(1042 „)
Vijjala	(1067 „)
Dhârâvarṣa	(1092 „)
Vîsala	(1117-1142)

BHINMAL BRANCH.

The Bhinmal branch of the Paramâras played a considerable part in the history of this period. The princes of this family designated themselves the rulers of Marumaṇḍala.[1] Their territory extended up to Balmer, in the Jodhpur State, on the west, and their capital was

1 Kiradu inscription—unpublished.

at Śrîmâla, the modern Bhinmal, in Jodhpur State, one hundred miles south-west of Jodhpur itself.

Our main source of material for building up the short history of this family is the mutilated Kiradu inscription.[1]

As has been remarked above,[2] Sindhurâja's son Dûsala obtained his territory of Marumaṇḍala from his uncle Vâkpatirâja, in the latter part of the tenth century A. D. After one reference to this prince, a few lines in the Kiradu inscription are illegible, as they are totally broken. Next we come across the name of the prince Devarâja. An inscription[3] of his reign has been discovered. It is dated Saṃ. 1059=1002 A. D., and was issued when the king was residing at Śrîmâla (*i. e.* Bhinmal).

Devâraja seems to have established friendly relation with the Câhamânâs of Śâkambharî after the defeat of the Mâlava king Sindhurâja by the Caulukya Câmuṇḍarâja.[4] His inscription relates that he pleased one Durlabharâja by his military achievement. Durlabha was, in all probability, the Câhamâna king of the same name, the younger brother of Vigraharâja, who ruled in the latter part of the tenth century A. D.

After the mention of Devarâja, some lines in the Kiradu inscription are again found broken. I think we miss in them the name of Dhaṃdhuka. Next comes Kṛṣṇarâja. Two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

1 Kirdu inscription.

2 Vide ante, p. 23.

3 Śrîmâlâvasthita-mahârâjâdhirâja-Śrî-Devarâja (unpublished).

4 Vide ante p. 79.

The first is found on a pillar of a rest-house, east of the temple of Baraji, in the town of Bhinmal.[1] It was issued in Saṃ. 1117=1060 A. D., when Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî-Kṛṣṇarâja, son of Dhaṃdhuka, grandson of Devarâja of the Paramâra race, was ruling at Śrîmâla. Its object is to register the fact that five personages, viz. Kirinâditya (Kiraṇâditya ?) and Vânî Dhaṃdhaka, sons of Jela of the Dharkuṭa family, Dada Hari, son of Mâdhava, Dhaṃdhanaka, son of Dharaṇacanda and Dharanâditya, son of Sarvadeva of the Thâkhâṭa race, undertook the work of repairing the temple of the Sun-god named Jagatsvâmi. After the completion of the work, a Brahman named Jejâka made at his own cost a golden jar and placed it on the temple. The king Kṛṣṇarâja, in order to meet the expenses of the temple ordered that a certain village in Śrî[2]......purîyâ-maṇḍala should pay to it yearly 20 drammas. He also granted for the same purpose a plot of land and a droṇa from his store (of the crops) in the village of Sacaliyâ. The grant was executed by Candana.

The second inscription,[3] dated Saṃ. 1123=1066 A. D., was found on a pillar of the temple of Jagsvâmi at Bhinmal. It also mentions the name of Kṛṣṇarâja as ruling in Śrîmâla, and designates him as mahârâjâdhirâja. It registers the names of a number of servants of the officers of religion in the service of the God Caṇḍîśa Mahâdeva, and records the gift of a certain number of drammas by the Brahmans Gugâ and Vâhaṭa in favour of the above deity.

The decline of the power of the Paramâra government at Dhârâ in the sixth decade of the eleventh century

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 472.
2 A portion of the name of the province is missing.
3 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 473.

left the Caulukya Bhîma free to ravage its collateral branches in Marwar and Abu. Kṛṣṇarâja's military strength was too insignificant to check the onward march of the Caulukyas. He fell a captive into the hands of Bhîma and was thrown into prison. In this terrible calamity he obtained his release through the help of the Câhamânas of Nadol. In the Sundha hill inscription[1] king Bâlaprasâda, the successor of Anahilla, is stated to have forced Bhîma to release Kṛṣṇadeva. Bhîma closed his reign in 1063 A. D. The Bhinmal inscription, dated 1066 A. D., referred to above, proves that Kṛṣṇarâja after his release regained his throne and ruled his territory as an independent monarch. He was followed by Socchirâja, Udayarâja and Someśvara.

The Kiradu inscription,[2] dated Saṃ. 1218=1161 A. D., was issued during the reign of the last-mentioned prince.

In the middle of the twelfth century A. D., the Câhamânas of Nadol seem to have wrested from him the territory of Kiradu, with the assistance of the Caulukya Kumârapâla. The Câhamâna Alhaṇa, a feudatory of the Caulukyas, issued an inscription, dated Saṃ. 1209=1152 A. D., from Kiradu.[3]

Kumârapâla's victory over the Ajmer king Arṇorâja brought a period of great prosperity to the Gujarat empire. But Vigraharâja (1153-1164 A. D.), the successor of Arṇorâja, a powerful military leader, invaded

1 Jajñe bhûbhṛt tad anu tanayas tasya Vâ (Bâ) laprasâdo Bhîma
–kṣmâbhṛc-caraṇa-yugalî-marddana-vyâjato yaḥ
kurvan pîḍâm ativa (ba) latayâ mocayâmâsa kârâ-
gârâd bhûmîpatim api tathâ Kṛṣṇadevâbhidhânaṃ ‖ v. 18,
(E. I. Vol. IX. p. 76)

2 Unpublished.

3 E. I., Vol. XI. p. 43,

the territory of the Caulukyas, and is said to have converted Naḍḍûla (Nadol) into a naḍavâla (*i. e.* bed of reeds) and Jâvâlipura (Jalor) into Jvâlâpura (*i. e.* a city of flame).[1] He also reduced many small villages of his enemy to hamlets.[2]

Someśvara probably took advantage of this disturbed condition of things in Marwar to regain his ancestral territory of Kiradu, with the assistance of the Câhamâ-nas of Ajmer.

Someśvara appears to have been succeeded by Jayatasîha. An inscription of Jayatasîha's (Jayata-siṃha's) reign[3] has been discovered on a pillar in the temple of Jagsvâmi, at Bhinmal. It records that, in Saṃ. 1239, Âśvina, = 1182 A. D., October, in the victorious reign of the Mahârâjaputra Jayatasîha, at Śrîmâla, a certain person, *viz.* Aravasâka Vahiyaṇa, the Guhila, son of Pramahidâ, gave to Vâlâkadeva one dramma in cash.

The Rajput bard describes jaitsî as a Paramâra, ruling in Abu.[4] He is also mentioned as a contemporary of the Caulukya Bhîma II (1178-1239 A.D.) and the Câhamâna Pṛthvîrâja III, son of Someśvara, the king of Ajmer (1179-1193 A, D.). It is evidently an error on the part of the bard to describe him as the king of Abu, where Dhârâvarṣa ruled from 1162 to 1227 A. D. in unbroken continuity. The bard relates to us an interesting incident,[5] which resulted in a terrible fight between Jaitsî and the Câhamâna Pṛthvîrâja III on one side and Bhîma II on the other.

1 J. A. S. B., Vol. LV, p. 41.
2 Ibid.
3 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 474.
4 Forbes *Râsmālâ*, Ed. by Rawlinson, Vol. I, p. 202.
5 Ibid., pp. 202 seq.

The story runs that Jaitsî had a very beautiful daughter, Ichanikumârî, who was betrothed to Pṛthvîrâja III, and that Bhîma II, hearing about her extreme beauty, determined to have her himself for wife. He sent an ambassador to the Paramâra chief, demanding the hand of his daughter, but Jaitsî and his son Salakha refused to comply with this request, as the princess was already betrothed to the Câhamâna prince. This infuriated Bhîma, and he ordered the invasion of Abu. Jaitsî, finding his strength quite inadequate to check the progress of the mighty Caulukyas, solicited the Câhamânas for assistance. The Cahamânas took up his cause with great zeal, but, in the battle that ensued, the Paramâra chief and his son were forced to surrender Abu after which they fled to Marwar. Bhîma then advanced upon Ajmer, and having slain its king Someśvara, returned to Gujarat. But Pṛthvîrâja took over the government of his deceased father and within a short time, invaded Gujarat with a strong force. He defeated the Caulukyas and avenged his father's death by killing Bhîma.

The above story probably contains some amount of historical truth, notwithstanding the fact that there are in it some gross inaccuracies. Bhîma II, who ruled from 1178 to 1239 A. D., was certainly not killed by Pṛthvîrâja III. That this Câhamâna king did invade Gujarat about this period, is borne out by a contemporary record. The Pârtha-parâkrama relates that the Paramâra Dhârâvarṣa, ruler of Abu, who was a feudatory of Bhîma II, repulsed a night-attack by Pṛthvîrâja, the king of jâṅgala.[1]

Jayatasîha's reign came to an end shortly after that event. He seems to have been succeeded by his son

1 Vide ante, p. 310.

Salakha. The fall of the House of Ajmer, in 1193 A. D., left the Paramâras of Bhinmal in a state of helplessness. The Câhamânas of Nadol took the earliest opportunity to fall upon them and deprived them of their territory. The Sundha hill inscription relates that the Câhamâna Udayasiṃha ruled over Naḍḍûla, Jâvâlipura, Mâṇḍavyapura, Vâgbhaṭameru, Sûrâcaṇḍa, Raṭahrada, Keḍa, Râmasainya, *Śrimâla*, Ratnapura and Satyapura.[1] Three inscriptions of his reign, dated Saṃ. 1262, 1262, 1274 1305 (=1206, 1218 and 1249), were issued from Śrîmâla.[2] Thus we find that the two collateral branches of the Paramâras in Marwar were deprived, almost simultaneously, of their political power by the Câhamânas of Nadol, at the end of the twelfth century A. D.

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1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 73.
2 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, pp. 474-476.

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3	Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I, Ś793.	E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 235.
4	Baroda plate of Karkarâja, Ś734.	I. A , Vol. XII, p. 156.
4a	Bijapur inscription of Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍî, Sam. 1053.	E. I., Vol. X, p 17.
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5	Gwalior inscription of Bhoja.	E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 112.
6	Partabgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapâla II, 946 A. D.	E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 176.
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7	Nilgund inscription of Taila II, Ś 904.	E. I., Vol. IV, p. 204.
8	Kauthem grant of Vikramâditya V, Ś 830.	I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 15.
9	Kulenur inscription of Jayasiṃha II, Ś 950.	E. I., Vol. XV, p. 329.
10	Miraj plates of Jayasiṃha II, Ś 946.	I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 11.

	Names	Reference
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13	Sudi inscription of Someśvara II, Ś 996.	E I, Vol. XV, p. 96.
14	Balagami inscription of the time of Someśvara II, Ś 993.	Mysore Inscriptions, p. 164.
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16	Shikar Talug inscription of Vikramāditya VI.	E. C., Vol. II, Sk. No. 124.
17	An inscription of Someśvara III's reign, Ś. 1051	E. C., Vol VII, Sk. No. 100.
18	A Cāḷukya inscription, about 1157 A. D.	Mysore inscriptions, p. 58.
19	A Cāḷukya inscription, 1158 A. D.	Mysore inscriptions, 153.
20	A Cāḷukya inscription, about 1165 A. D.	Mysore inscriptions, p 61.

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21	An inscription of Jayasiṃha, 1134 A. D.	J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXV, p. 322.
22	Ujjain inscription of Jayasiṃha, 1138 A. D.	I. A, Vol. XLII, p. 258.
23	Dohad inscription of Jayasiṃha, 1139, 1145 A. D.	I. A., Vol. X, p. 159.
24	Vadnagar praśasti of Kumārapāla, 1151 A. D.	E. I., Vol. I, p. 293.
25	Udayapur inscription of Kumārapāla, 1163 A. D.	I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 343.

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28	Devapatan inscription of the reign of Bhîma II, 1216 A. D.	E. I., Vol. II, p. 437.
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37	Inscriptions from Khajuraho.	E. I., Vol. I, pp. 121.
38	Inscription from Mahoba.	E. I., Vol. I, p. 217.
39	Mau inscription of Madanavarman.	E. I., Vol. II, p. 198.
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41	Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevî, K. E., 907	E. I., Vol. II, p. 7.
42	Karnbel inscriprion of Jayasiṃha.	I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 217.
43	Kalha plate of Soḍhadeva, Saṃ. 1134	E. I, Vol. VII, p. 85.
	KACCHAPAGHÂTAS	
44	Dubkund inscription of Vikramasiṃha, Saṃ. 1145.	E. I, Vol. II, p. 237.
45	Sasbahu temple inscription of Mahîpâla, Saṃ. 1150.	I. A., Vol. XV, p. 33.
	HOYSALA	
46	Eṛeyaṅga's inscription, 1100 A. D.	E. C., Vol. V, Ak. No. 102a.
47	Shimoga Talug inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana, about 1112 A. D.	E. C., Vol. II, sh Np. 64.
48	Belur copper-plate of Viṣṇuvardhana, 1117 A. D.	E. C., Vol. V, p. 26, Hn. No. 53.
49	Narasiṃha I's inscription, 1159 A. D.	E. C., Vol. II, No. 349. (Sravana Belgola inscription)
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	NAMES	REFERENCE
52	Narasiṃha I's inscription, about 1150 A. D.	E. C., Vol. IV, kp. No. 32.
53	Narasiṃha I's inscription, 1162 A. D.	E. C., Vol. IV, HS. No. 137.
54	Ballâḷa II's inscription, 1177 A. D.	E C., Vol V, AK. No. 62.
55	Ballâḷa II's inscription, 1192 A. D.	Mysore inscription, p. 104.
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58	Ballâ II's inscription 1209 A. D.	E. C., Vol. V, AK. No. 40.
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59	Samgamne inscription of Bhillama, Ś 922.	E. I., Vol. II, p. 212.
60	Patna inscription of the reign of Siṅghaṇa.	E. I, Vol. I, p. 338.
61	Bahal inscription of Siṅghaṇa, 1222 A. D.	E. I., Vol. III, p. 113.
62	Bhillama's inscription, 1189 A. D.	E. I., Vol. XV, p. 34.
63	Kṛṣṇa's inscription, 1250 A. D.	E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 23.
64	Kṛṣṇa's inscription, 1252 A. D.	J. Bo. Br., Vol. XII, p. 34.
65	Thana plates of Râmacandra, 1272 A. D.	E. I., Vol. XIII, p. 202.
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	Names	Reference
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70	Jhansi inscription of Sallakṣaṇa-siṃha.	E. I., Vol. I, p. 214.
71	Sravana-Belgola epitaph of Mârasiṃha II.	E. I., Vol. V, p. 151.
72	Belava copper-plate of Bhoja-varman	E. I., Vol. XII, p. 37.
73	Ingnoda inscription of Vijaya-pâla, 1133 A. D.	I. A., Vol. VI, p 55.
74	Madagihal inscription, Ś. 1093.	E. I., ol. XV, p. 348.
75	Chamba plate of Somavarma and Asatadeva.	I. A., Vol. XVII, p. 7.
76	An inscription from Udayapur.	J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 549.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMARA DYNASTY

Serial No.	Place of Origin	Stone or Copper-Plate	Date V. E.	Date A. D.	The Paramâra Kings named	Royal	Private	Reference
THE PARAMÂRA'S OF MALWA.								
1	Harsola	C.	1005	949	Sîyaka II	R.		E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 236.
2	Ahmedabad	C.	1026	969	Sîyaka II	R.		E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 177.
3	Ujjain	C.	1031	974	Vâkpati-Muñja	R.		I. A., Vol. VI, p. 51.
4	Ujjain	C.	1036	979	Vâkpati-Muñja	R.		I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 160.
5	Banswara	C.	1076	1020	Bhoja	R.		E. I., Vol. XI, p. 182.
6	Betma	C.	1076	1020	Bhoja	R.		E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 320.
7	Ujjain	C.	1078	1021	Bhoja	R.		I. A., Vol. VI, p. 53.
7a	Depalpur	C.	1079	1022	Bhoja	R.		I. H. Q., Vol. VIII, p. 305.
8	Sarasvatî-image (in the British Museum)	S.	1091	1033	Bhoja	R.		Rûpam, 1924, p. 1.
9	Tilakwada	C.	1103	1047	Bhoja		P.	Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, p. 319.
10	Kalvan	C.	undated		Bhoja		P.	E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 69.
11	Mandhata	C.	1112	1055	Jayasimha	R.		E. I., Vol. III, p. 46.

12	Panhera	C.	1116	1059	Jayasimha	R.		E. I., Vol. XXI, p. 42.
13	Udayapur	S.	undated		Udayâditya	R.		E. I., Vol. I, p. 233.
14	Udayapur	S.	1137	1080	Udayâditya	R.		I. A., Vol. xx, p. 83.
15	Un	S.	undated		Udayâditya	R.		A. S. I., 1918-19, p. 17.
16	Dhar	S.	undated		Udayâditya	R.		J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 357.
17	Jhalrapatan	S.	1143	1086	Udayâditya	R.		J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 241.
17a	Jainad	S.	undated		Jagaddeva		P.	An. Rep. Nizam's Dominions. 1927-28, p. 23.
18	Udayapur	S.	1151	1094	Naravarman	R.	P.	A. S. I., 1923-24, p. 135, (unpublished).
19	Nagpur	S.	1161	1104	Naravarman	R.		E. I., Vol. II, p, 180.
20	Madhukaraghar	S.	1164	1107	Naravarman		P.	Tr. R. A, S., Vol. I, p. 226.
21	unknown	C.	1159, 1167	1102, 1110	Naravarman	R.		Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1921, p. 54. (unpublished).
22	Bhilsa	S.	undated		Naravarman	R.		Ibid, 1914, p. 59, unpublished.
23	Dhar	S.	undated		Naravarman	R.		J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 351.
24	Ujjain	C.	1192	1135	Yaśovarman	R.		I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 348.
25	Ujjain	C.	undated		Jayavarman I	R.		I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 350.
26	Ujjain	C.	1200	1143	Laksmîvarman	R.		I. A, Vol. XIX, p. 351.
27	Piplianagar	C.	1235	1178	Hariścandra	R,		J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p 735.
28	Bhopal	S.	1241	1184	Udayâditya	R.		J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35.

Serial No.	Place of Origin	Stone or Copper Plate	Date V. E.	Date A. D.	The Paramâra Kings named	Royal	Private	Reference.
29	Bhopal	S.	Śaka 1108	1186	Udayâditya	R.		J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35.
30	Bhopal	C.	1256	1199	Udayavarman	R.		I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 252.
31	Piplianagar	C.	1267	1210	Arjunavarman	R.		J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 378.
32	unknown	C.	1270	1213	Arjunavarman	R.		J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 33.
33	unknown	C.	1272	1215	Arjunavarman	R.		J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 25.
34	Harsauda	S.	1275	1218	Devapâla		P.	I. A., Vol. XX, p. 310.
35	Mandhata	C.	1282	1225	Devapâla	R.		E. I., Vol IX, p. 103.
36	Udayapur	S.	1286	1229	Devapâla			I. A., Vol. XX, p. 83.
37	Udayapur	S.	128(9?)	123(2?)	Devapâla			I. A., Vol. XX, p. 83.
38	Rahatgarh	S.	1312	1256	Jayavarman II		P.	I. A., Vol. XX, p. 84; A. S. I., (Cunningham) Vol. X, p. 31.
39	Modi	S.	1314	1257	Jayavarman II			Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey (W. C.), 1913, p. 56. (unpublished.)
40	Godarpura	C.	1317	1260	Jayavarman II	R.		E. I., Vol. XI, p. 120.
41	Pathari		1326	1269	Jayasiṃha II			Kielhorn's Northern List, E. I., Vol. V, App. No. 232.
42	Udayapur	S.	1366	1309	Jayasimha II			I. A., Vol. XX, p. 84.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMÂRAS OF ABU

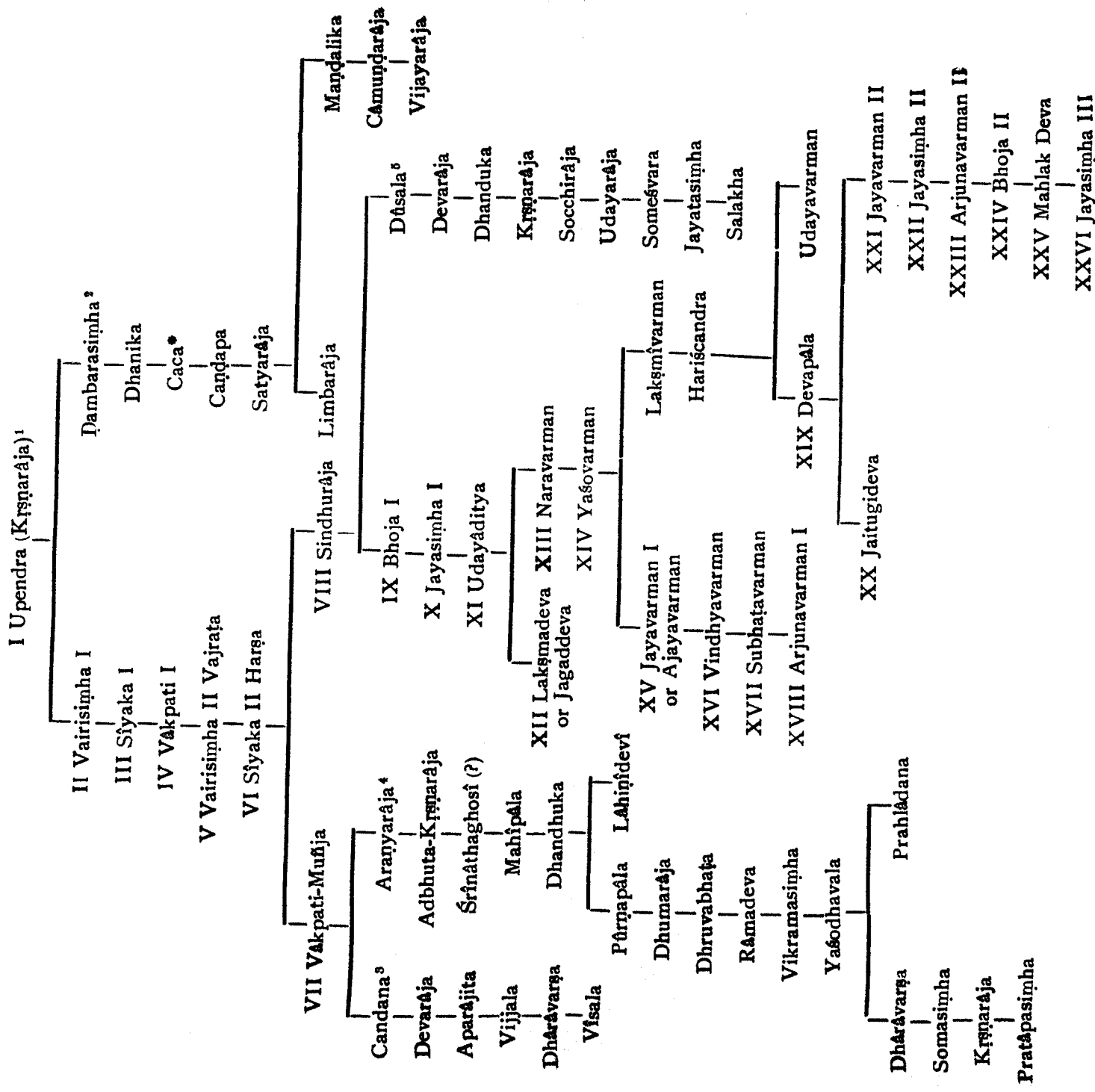
1	Vasantgadh	S.	1099	1042	Pûrṇapâla		P.	E. I., Vol. IX, p. 11.
2	Bharund	S.	1102	1045	Pûrṇapâla		P.	J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 78.
3	Ajari	S.	1202	1145	Yaśodhavala		P.	I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 12.
4	Mount Abu	S.	1207	1150	Yaśodhavala			E. I., Vol. IX, p 149.
5	Kayadra	S.	1220	1163	Dhârâvarṣa	R.		I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
6	Hathar	S.	1237	1180	Dhârâvarṣa		P.	I. A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193.
7	Ajari	S.	1240	1183	Dhârâvarṣa		P.	Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. IV, App. II.
8	Mangthala	S.	1245	1188	Dhârâvarṣa			A. S. I., 1906-7, p. 209, unpublished.
9	Mount Abu	S.	1265	1208	Dhârâvarṣa		P.	I. A., Vol. XI, p. 221.
10	Ajmer Museum	S.	1271	1214	Dhârâvarṣa	R.		I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
11	Ajmer Museum	S.	1274	1217	Dhârâvarṣa		P.	I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
12	Mount Abu	S.	1287	1230	Somasiṃha		P.	E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 208.
13	Mount Abu	S.	1287	1230	Somasiṃha		P.	E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 219.
14	Nana	S.	1290	1233	Somasiṃha		P.	A. S. I., 1907-1, p. 226 (unpublished).
15	Girwar	S.	1344	1286	Pratâpasiṃha		P.	I. A., Vol. XLV, p. 78.

Serial No.	Place of Origin	Stone or Copper-Plate	Date V. E.	Date A. D.	The Paramâra Kings named	Royal	Private	Reference
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMÂRAS OF VÂGAḌA.								
1	Panhera	S.	1116	1059	Maṇḍalika	R.		E. I, Vol. XXI, p. 42.
2	Arthuna	S.	1136	1079	Câmuṇḍarâja	R.		E. I., Vol XIV, p. 295.
3	Arthuna	S.	undated		Câmṇḍarâja		P	Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1915, p. 35. (unpublished).
4	Arthuna	S.	1157	1100	Câmuṇḍarâja			Ibid. (unpublished).
5	Ajmer Museum	S.	undated		Câmuṇḍarâja			unpublished.
6	Ajmer Museum	S.	1165	1108	Vijayarâja			Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, 1918, p. 2. (unpublished).
7	Ajmer Museum	S.	1166	1109	Vijayarâja			A. S. I, 1908-9, p. 118, (unpublished).
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE JALOR BRANCH.								
1	Jalor	S.	1174	1117	Vîsala		P.	I. A., Vol. LXII, p. 41.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BHINMAL BRANCH.

1	Bhinmal	S.	1059	1002	Devarâja	R.		unpublished.
2	Bhinmal	S.	1117	1060	Kṛṣṇarâja		P.	Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 472.
3	Bhinmal	S.	1123	1066	Kṛṣṇarâja		P.	Ibid., p. 474.
4	Kiradu	S.	1218	1161	Someśvara			unpublished.
5	Bhinmal	S.	1239	1182	Jayatasiṃha			Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 474.

THE PARAMÂRA DYNASTY

GENEALOGY

1 Paramâras of Malwa. 2 Vâgada branch. 3 Jalor branch. 4 Abu branch. 5 Bhinmal branch.

* Caca was the son of Dhanika's brother.

APPENDIX.

I

Two inscriptions of the imperial Paramâra dynasty have of late been brought to light. One belongs to Bhoja and the other to Jagaddeva. They are as follows :

A. DEPALPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHOJA, DATED S. 1079[1]

The inscription was found in the possession of a person residing in Depalpur, 24 miles north-west of Indore. It is dated Saṃ. 1079, 14th day of the Caitra = March, 1022 A. D. It records that Bhoja, from his residence at Dhârâ, granted some lands in (the village of) Kirîkaikâ, belonging to the western pathaka of Ujjain [2], to a Brahman Vacchala, who hailed from Mânyakheṭa.

The village, referred to above, is to be identified with the modern village of Karkî, in the Depalpur Pargana, on the Chambal, about six miles from the town of Depalpur, and forty miles south-west of Ujjain.

2. THE JAINAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAGADDEVA [3].

The stone slab containing the inscription is lying in the court-yard of a temple in the village of Jainad, six miles from Edalabad in the Nizam's Dominions. This is a record of the reign of the king Jagaddeva. It registers that Padmâvatî, the wife of Lolârka, a chief under the king Jagaddeva, founded a temple of Nimvâditya in the *agrahāra*. Lolârka was the son of Guṇarâja and the grand-son of Mahendu. They belong to the Dâhima family. It is stated that Jagaddeva's father was Udayâditya, and his paternal uncle (pitṛvya) was Bhoja. Jagaddeva is

1. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, 1932, p. 305.
2. Ujjayinî-pas'cima-pathakântapâti.
3. Annual Report of the Arch. Dep., H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1927-28, p. 23

said to have conquered Andhra and defeated the king of Cakra-durga. He entered the city of Dorasamudra, and struck terror into the heart of the king of Malahara.

The verse 10 reports that "even now the flood-tide of tears of the wives of the Gurjara heroes manifests day and night in the cave of the Arbuda mountain the twang of the bow of Jagad-deva, as if it were the recitation of prayers in the form of the stories of the valour of Jayasiṃha." It gives us to understand that Jagaddeva undertook an expedition against Gujarat long time before the inscription was composed. It further implies that he fought the battle on behalf of one Jayasiṃha. This Jayasiṃha is to be identified with the king of the same name who succeeded to the throne of Bhoja. It has been discussed in chapter V that Jayasiṃha was accompanied by his cousin (*tambi*) during his expedition against Andhra. This cousin may very reasonably be identified with Jagaddeva.

Jainad inscription is the only known record of the reign of Jagaddeva. It proves that the southern boundary of the Paramâra kingdom once extended upto the Edalabad District of the Nizam's Dominions.

II

It has been endeavoured to explain (p. 9.) why the Paramâras being members of the well kndwn Râṣṭrakûṭa family did not designate themselves as the Râṣṭrakûṭas. In this connection I draw the attention to the fact that the Gâhaḍavâlas being Râṣṭrakûṭas never called themselves as such (cf. Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes. Vol. III, pp. 259—266).

III

It has been suggested that Raḍûpâṭî, the chief of which was an adversary of Sîyaka II, may be a wrong contraction of Râṣṭrakûṭa. But it is better to take that as identical with Rodapâdi, a province, which was situated in the neighbourhood of the Ḍâhalamaṇḍala and Mâlava (Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. IX, p. 104.)

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THE END.